



Obama and Race:
Will His Frank
Talk Cost Him?

The Blame-O-Meter:
Who Screwed Up
The Economy



Innovators: The
Guys Who Build
Better Athletes

TIME



The Dalai Lama's Journey

As China launches
a crackdown on
Tibet, the Buddhist
leader fights for his
people's dignity. An
intimate look at his
spiritual struggle

BY PICO IYER

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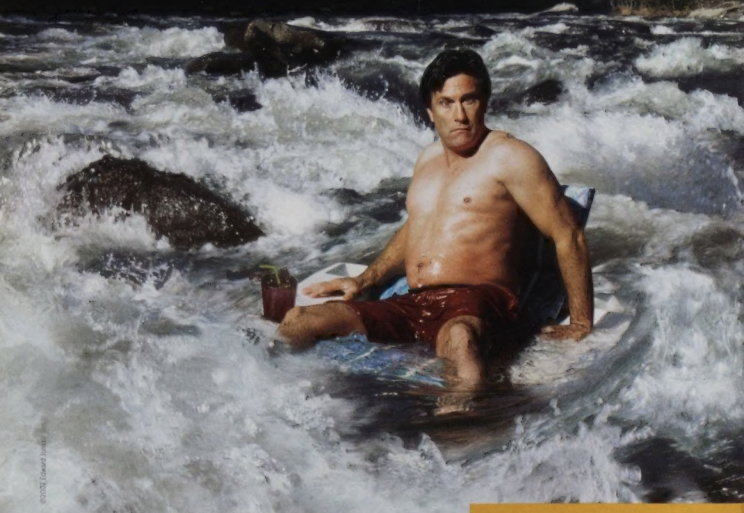
THE ALL-NEW ACCORD FROM HONDA | BEYOND THE ROAD



NOT BEING PREPARED
FOR RETIREMENT
DON'T MAKE MUCH SENSE CITE



NOT BEING PREPARED FOR RETIREMENT DOESN'T MAKE MUCH SENSE EITHER.



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MAKING SENSE OF INVESTING

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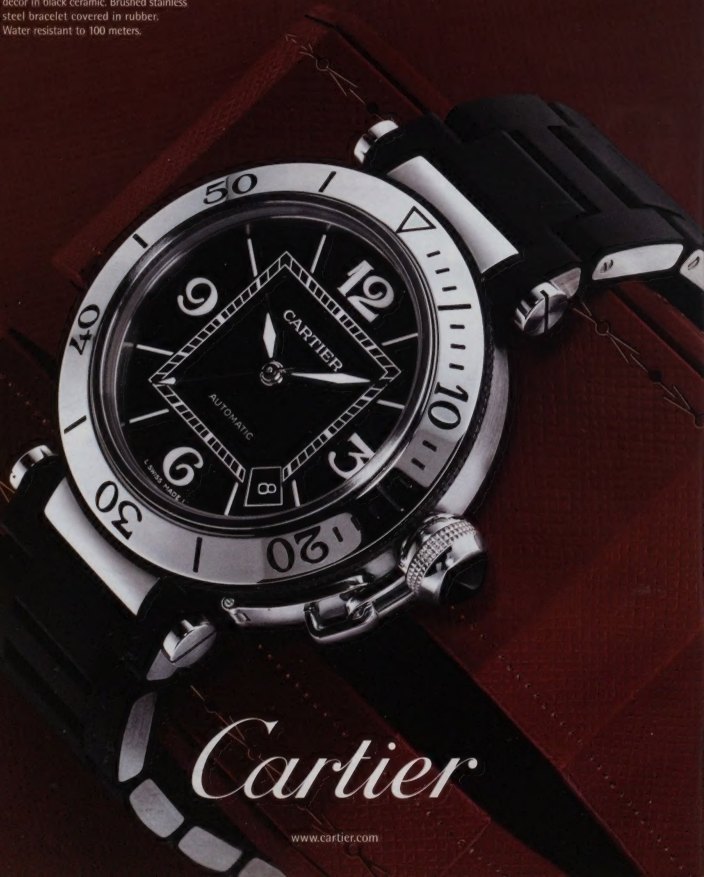
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To Our Readers

Tackling Tibet.

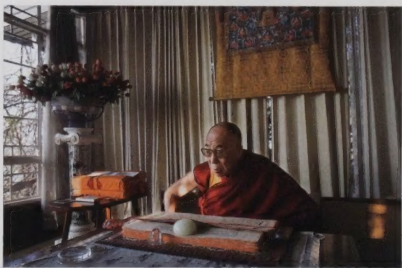
As violent protests spread in China, two TIME veterans offer unparalleled insight into the life and mind of Tibet's holiest leader, the Dalai Lama

PICO IYER, ONE OF THE WORLD'S PREMIER prose stylists, has been following the journey of the Dalai Lama since he was a tiny child. In 1960, when Pico was 3 years old, his father visited in India with the newly exiled Dalai Lama and brought back a picture of the shy 24-year-old for his son. That picture sat on Pico's desk for 30 years, until 1990, when a fire roared through his family's house, wiping out everything including the photo and bringing home to him the Buddhist idea of the impermanence of life.

Pico first visited with the Dalai Lama when he was 17, in the sheltered settlement of Dharamsala, in the foothills of the Himalayas. After Tibet opened up to the world, Pico made three additional trips there. In April 1988, Pico wrote a major profile of the Dalai Lama for TIME and later went to Tibet to report for us on what that peaceful society was going through under martial law. As fans of his travel writings know, Pico's curiosity has led him to nearly every corner of the globe, but he has always found himself returning to the monk in Dharamsala. He wrote another long piece on the Dalai Lama for us in 1997, so in a sense, Pico has been updating TIME readers on this figure of global fascination every 10 years.

Now Pico offers the definitive portrait of His Holiness in this week's cover story, which is adapted from his new book, *The Open Road: The Global Journey of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama*. "Over the years," Pico says, "I've been struck by how practically he's adapted his message to the times and the worldwide audience. He's thought about his positions more deeply and more rigorously than anyone I've ever met."

Our article comes at a time when the events in Tibet are making that land at the roof of the world one of the most important stories of the year. Chinese enterprise has transformed Tibet in recent years, bringing material benefits to Tibetans but also feeding anxieties about the erosion of their cultural freedoms. Those resentments exploded in the streets of Lhasa and other cities this month, prompting a clampdown by Chinese authorities. That has provoked talk of a partial boycott of



Inner sanctum In his isolated home near the Himalayas, His Holiness reads from Buddhist text



Nachtwey

The renowned photographer was moved by the Dalai Lama's welcome of gentle nods and warm smiles



Iyer The author drew from decades of travel in and research on Tibet for his new book, *The Open Road*



the opening ceremonies of the Olympics in Beijing. But by seeking dialogue with the Dalai Lama, as called for by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, China's rulers can show the world their commitment to promoting freedom and safeguarding human rights.

The cover portrait of the Dalai Lama is courtesy of another name familiar to TIME readers: James Nachtwey. Pairing Pico with Nachtwey, the planet's pre-eminent news photographer, seemed like journalistic Nirvana. The two first worked together in South Korea, 20 years ago. Jim, who has devoted his life to documenting wars and tragedy and famine everywhere from El Salvador to the West Bank to the Sudan, had always told us that if he ever had the chance to photograph the Dalai Lama, he would drop everything and do it. He got the

chance and spent five days in March with the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala. He was permitted into His Holiness's private residence to photograph the Dalai Lama praying and reading from Buddhist texts. In his quiet intensity, his down-to-earth centeredness and his relentless focus, he resembles the unique man he photographed.

Pick

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

10 Questions.

After her brother Gianni was killed in 1997, she took over the family business and built it into a global brand, with a new menswear line out this month. **Donatella Versace will now take your questions**

What characteristic of the Versace brand have you kept alive to immortalize your brother?

Armando Rodriguez Davila
MEXICO CITY

Glamour. When Gianni started, fashion was about being safe, being sophisticated. The word *glamour* didn't exist. Gianni invented glamour. It meant women not being afraid to embrace femininity and sensuality. I make sure glamour stays.

How is your vision of the Versace label different from Gianni's?

Ashika Vaswani, SYDNEY

I always, always think of Gianni—if Gianni would approve of what I'm doing. Every fashion show, before the girls or the boys go on the runway, I close my eyes and think of him. Will Gianni approve of this? I tell myself, Yes, he will. He taught me everything I know. Even if my fashion changes, evolves with the millennium, the DNA is the same.

What are your feelings on using film stars instead of supermodels to represent fashion?

Alexander Dreussi
CANTON, OHIO

A celebrity can convey a message much quicker and much more clearly than a model. For example, for my menswear line, I'm working with [Grey's Anatomy star] Patrick Dempsey at the moment. The enthusiasm from people is very serious. They look at the campaign with Dempsey as enormous because he represents the kind of man that

every woman wants next to her and every man can recognize himself in.

Recently Hillary Clinton refused to be in *Vogue* magazine, fearing she would appear too feminine. What do you think that says about women's roles in society?

Emily Nielsen, POWAY, CALIF.
Showing your femininity should help your career and not go against your career. Dressing like a man, using the

suit to look powerful—that was the '80s, and that didn't help women. Helping women is [using] your brain and not the way you dress.

Would you consider partnering with mass-market brands like H&M?

Grace Lien, HONG KONG
I don't think so. Versace is positioned in the luxury-brand market, and only in that way can you be established forever as a luxury brand.

Do you think the fashion industry should make clothes for plus-sized women?

Tara McCullough
GLENDALE, ARIZ.

Plus-sized women shouldn't think of themselves as a size. They should think of themselves as women with rich goals in life. Size doesn't mean, really, anything. You can carry your size with pride and dress in a way that you like.

Has your company started feeling the effects of the weakening American dollar or the Japanese yen?

Jeffrey Spivock, MONTREAL
No, because the luxury market at this moment doesn't feel the recession. Hopefully we will not. But we are very aware of what's going on in the world, and we're taking steps to avoid [being affected].

Italy aside, which country's or city's fashion sense do you most admire, and why?

David John Landy, DUBLIN
I do admire England because they are eccentric. I admire America because they follow fashion.

Which other designers' fashions inspire you?

Amanda Cusick
PIEDMONT, CALIF.
I like a lot of young designers. I like Christopher Kane—he's a very young British designer—and Nicolas Ghesquière, the designer for Balenciaga.

What's the most influential thing in your life and work?

Soyeon Yang, SUPERIOR, COLO.
Music. Being friends with musicians and knowing a lot about music have a great impact on my life and on my design. Music is about breaking rules and finding new beats and listening to new sounds.



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with Versace and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions

A man in a dark sweater and plaid shirt is drinking from a white Starbucks mug. In the background, a large chalkboard displays a hand-drawn menu for Starbucks' Breakfast Blend coffee. The menu includes the Starbucks logo, the text "today's BREW", a drawing of a smiling sun with a face, the words "BREAKFAST BLEND", and the description "MILD, BRIGHT and TANGY" next to a drawing of a rooster. It also says "perfect with sunrise... or blueberry jam." and "-S". To the left of the chalkboard is a bag of Starbucks Breakfast Blend Mild coffee and a small plate with a croissant and jam. To the right is a glass carafe of coffee on a warming plate. The entire scene is set on a kitchen counter.

today's  BREW



BREAKFAST BLEND

MILD, BRIGHT
and
TANGY

perfect with
sunrise...
or blueberry jam.

-S



BREAKFAST BLEND MILD

GROUND



From mild to extra bold, discover the taste that
inspires you at www.starbucks.com/coffeeathome.

life happens over coffee

AVAILABLE WHERE YOU BUY GROCERIES.

Toyota's Green Road to Growth

"Toyota is committed to sustainable development through innovation that balances economic growth with environmental protection"

- Katsuaki Watanabe

A murmur swept through the crowd of media representatives attending the Toyota press conference at the North American International Auto Show in Detroit on Jan. 13. Toyota Motor Corporation President Katsuaki Watanabe had just made a stunning announcement: "By 2010, we will accelerate our global plug-in hybrid R&D program. As part of this plan, we will deliver a significant fleet of plug-in hybrid vehicles powered by lithium-ion batteries to a wide variety of customers." The innovative new plug-in hybrids will be able to cover greater distances on electric power alone, while producing significantly less CO₂ than other hybrid vehicles.

Just days before the Detroit show, Watanabe set out his vision for Toyota's future at the company's headquarters: "Toyota cannot grow without improvements in quality. That means not only enhancing our technology, product quality and cost competitiveness, but also maximizing our contribution to sustainable development. Sustainability is key to our management policy."



Watanabe recognizes that economic growth must be coordinated with the needs of our planet and society in mind. "Innovative technology is the biggest key to achieving development that is balanced between economic growth and the environment," Watanabe says. "We are inspired by a core value of our company's management philosophy, *The Toyota Way*. It promotes respect for people, a reflection of our faith in human ingenuity. Our long-term plan, *Global Vision 2020*, declares our belief that we can open the frontiers of tomorrow through the energy of people and technology."

**Toyota hybrid vehicles
have reduced carbon
dioxide output by over
five million tons**

Creating Sustainable Mobility

"We try to develop technology that minimizes the negative impact toward people and the environment while maximizing the enjoyment of driving"

- Katsuaki Watanabe

ABOVE: Katsuaki Watanabe emissions a green road to growth. TOP RIGHT: A Toyota Fuel Cell Hybrid Vehicle (FCHV) delivered outstanding performance under cold conditions.

In his address to journalists at the Detroit Motor Show, Watanabe said, "Last year, as never before, industry, government and mainstream consumers came to grips with the need to address global climate change. I believe we will all remember 2007 as the year that the world responded to a wake-up call too long ignored." Watanabe pointed out that Toyota has long promoted what it calls 'sustainable mobility,' a vision of motor vehicles in accord with the environment. "Sustainable mobility recognizes that a wide variety of advanced technologies will be part of our future. But only if these technologies can appeal to, and reach, the mass market," Watanabe said.

Sustainable mobility addresses four key areas. First, the vehicles themselves and advanced technologies. Second, the urban environment, where these new technologies will be used. Third, the need for partnerships between energy and transportation companies along with government and academia to bring new technologies to market. Fourth, the energy challenges surrounding the use of advanced vehicles.



Going the Distance

Toyota's hydrogen fuel-cell hybrid powered vehicle made a landmark trip from Alaska to Vancouver, making a huge stride forward in the long distance operation of a hybrid fuel-cell system, which has no emissions other than water vapor. Driving 2,300 miles (3,700 km) on hydrogen alone, the Toyota Fuel Cell Hybrid Vehicle (FCHV) completed the trek from Fairbanks Alaska to Vancouver British Columbia in seven days, averaging more than 300 miles (480 km) between refuelings. The trial performed in the last quarter of 2007 confirmed substantial progress in reliability and durability, cold-weather operation and extended range capability of Toyota's hybrid fuel cell system. As with Toyota's hybrid technology, Toyota's fuel-cell program has been an entirely in-house initiative. All key components, including the next-generation fuel-cell stack, battery and power management system were solely developed by Toyota.



TOYOTA



Worldwide Toyota Hybrid Vehicle Sales

Unit = 1000 vehicles



ABOVE: The new Toyota Highlander Hybrid
BELOW: The Toyota Biofuel division

With regard to the vehicles themselves, Watanabe notes that "Automobiles produce not only CO₂ but also NOx and other noxious emissions. The challenge is to come as close as possible to eliminating these. Our R&D team is continuously creating cleaner conventional engines, while exploring every alternative approach including ethanol, electricity and hydrogen. Hybrid technology is a core technology that can improve environmental performance in all energy and powertrain applications."

Unquestionably, Toyota is a pioneer in developing and marketing technology that addresses some of the causes of climate change. The automaker launched the world's first mass-produced gasoline-electric hybrid vehicle, the Prius, in 1997. By January 2008, global cumulative sales of Toyota hybrid vehicles had topped 1.32 million units. In terms of combating global warming, the effect of these Toyota hybrid vehicles has been to reduce carbon dioxide output by over five million tons. But rather than basking in its success as the hybrid leader, Toyota is pursuing sustainable mobility with even greater effort. Goals include annual sales of one million hybrids by the early 2010s, followed by hybrid versions of all vehicle models during the 2020s.

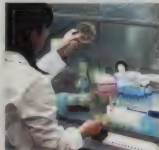
Engines of Change

Toyota is revamping all of its conventional engines and transmissions over the next two years to achieve improved air quality, increased fuel economy and a reduction in CO₂ output. These efforts extend to Toyota's mass-produced diesel engines featuring a new diesel purification

Wood Chips: A Friendlier Biofuel

Biofuel is fuel that's developed from organic material, usually plant matter. Biofuels such as ethanol are considered to be 'carbon neutral,' that is, the CO₂ emitted into the atmosphere when the fuel is consumed is no greater than that taken from the atmosphere during the plant's growth. In other words, there is no net increase in carbon dioxide, one of the main gases implicated in global warming.

Toyota is developing cellulosic ethanol production capability based on its biotechnology expertise, which will enable biofuel to be obtained from non-food plant sources such as wood chips. Unlike today's biofuels, which are made from food crops such as corn, sugarcane and soybeans, cellulosic ethanol is made from inedible plant materials, which will not affect food supply and price.



system called DPNR advanced catalytic converter technology. Toyota plans to expand and enhance its environmentally-friendly diesel engine range to meet increasing demand. At the Detroit show, Watanabe announced that a new clean-diesel V8 engine would be offered in both the Tundra full-size pickup and the Sequoia full-size SUV, sold in North America, in the near future.

The choice of alternatives for the future depends on local conditions. For example, Brazil, with its abundant sugarcane plantations producing raw material for fuel ethanol, is an ideal market for flex-fuel vehicles that can run on up to 100% ethanol. Next year, in North America, select 2009 Tundra models equipped with the 5.7-liter V8 will have flexible fuel capability to run on E85 ethanol. The latest technologies are being incorporated into specific product plans based on Toyota's concept of "the right vehicle, in the right place, at the right time."

Safety and the City

Safety is an important element of sustainable mobility which looks at the urban environment where these new technologies will be used. "I want Toyota to develop a dream car, a vehicle that cannot injure people, and to help create an urban infrastructure that can keep accidents from happening," says Watanabe. "We have developed a Pre-crash Safety System, which offers features that include front-end pedestrian detection and rear-end vehicle detection functions, which could be described as the first safety technologies of their kind."

Going beyond vehicle design, Toyota is working with local governments and academic researchers to develop smart infrastructures that will enhance safety and reduce traffic congestion. This Intelligent Transport System (ITS) technology uses vehicle-to-vehicle and vehicle-to-infrastructure communication to reduce the burden on drivers and minimize the risk of accidents.

Plug-in, Drive Off

Toyota's Plug-in Hybrid Vehicle (PHV) offers an example of how progress in sustainable mobility can benefit from partnerships. In Nov. 2007, Toyota delivered prototype PHVs to the University of California's Berkeley and Irvine campuses, where researchers will work with industry and state partners to study user response to the technology and recharging infrastructure needs. Meanwhile, Toyota has teamed up with France's EDF Group, a leading player in the European energy industry, to evaluate



plug-in hybrid vehicles in Europe. Toyota's PHVs are integrated into EDF's fleet for testing on public roads in France. EDF and Toyota are developing a system that will facilitate battery charging at a new generation of public charging stations on roads and in car parks. To maximize the PHV's potential, Toyota has formed a partnership

with Matsushita Electric to begin developing high-performance lithium-ion battery technology, which offers higher energy and output densities compared to today's conventional nickel metal hydride (NiMH) battery type.

ABOVE: Pierre Gadonneix, President and CEO of EDF (L) and Masatami Takimoto, Executive Vice President, Technology, of Toyota (R) with plug-in hybrid road-test model in Europe

Plug-in Hybrid: How it Works



RIGHT: Whereas a regular hybrid can only charge its battery while driving, a plug-in hybrid can also be charged from an external electric power source, either in the home or on the road



Making Manufacturing Sustainable

"Environmentally-friendly vehicles have to come from environmentally-friendly plants" - Katsuaki Watanabe

Toyota is integrating its vehicle-production plants with the environment—by applying innovative technologies to "make more with less," using renewable energy, planting forests around factories and encouraging interaction with local communities.

Toyota has positioned its Tsutsumi Plant, where the Prius is produced, as a model 'sustainable plant' for other Toyota sites worldwide. The plant has achieved a reduction in CO₂ emissions of approximately 50% compared to 1990 levels. Efficient use of resources and installation of a 2,000kW photovoltaic generation system help reduce the environmental footprint. The local ecosystem is improved by planting native tree species in and around the plant. At Toyota's Takaoka Plant, radically re-engineered assembly lines allow cars to be made faster with less energy.

By reducing the size of its plants and the amount of energy used in manufacturing, Toyota aims to slash waste and CO₂ emissions. Toyota Motor Thailand's Ban Pho Plant, which opened in Jan. 2007, was built with the aim of serving as an innovative model plant in the Asia-Pacific region. Its cogeneration system maximizes energy efficiency of conventional power, while its solar panels generate environmentally-friendly electricity. In addition, the plant recycles wastewater, employs water-borne metallic paint at vehicle body painting lines and has contributed no waste to landfill since the beginning of operations.

ABOVE:
Thailand's Ban Pho Plant has solar panels on its roof to generate electricity.
BELOW RIGHT:
Toyota's sustainable plant program is expanding worldwide.



In North America, the Toyota Motor Manufacturing, Mississippi, Inc. (TMMMS) Plant—now under construction—will also serve as a model sustainable plant. In addition to introducing innovative eco-efficient assembly line technology, TMMMS is also planting native trees as part of an effort to be in harmony with the environment and local community. In Europe, activities will be spearheaded by Toyota Motor Manufacturing (UK) Ltd. and Toyota Motor Manufacturing France S.A.S.

Sustainable plant activities involve people as well as technology. "A key goal is building the eco-consciousness of our team members in cooperation with the surrounding community," says Watanabe.

Worldwide expansion of Toyota's model plant



Empowering Employees

To keep enhancing sustainability, Toyota's plants seek suggestions from employees. With Toyota's Eco-point System, employees who offer ideas that help to reduce energy and conserve the environment, or who take part in environment-related events (such as beautification activities around the plant), are awarded points and

qualify for awards. The Tsutsumi Plant holds an autumn festival with environmentally-themed events to promote the plant's initiatives among employees, their families, and the local community. As a result, people take greater pride in their work and their workplace.



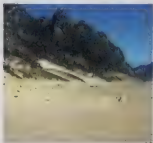
Nurturing a Sustainable Society

"We want to foster the development of human resources and systems that contribute to sustainability worldwide" - Katsuaki Watanabe

As an automaker, it is natural for Toyota to contribute to sustainability through its vehicles and plants. But Toyota is also directly supporting many environmental and social-sustainability initiatives in other areas. A prominent example is the re-greening of thousands of hectares of land that had become deforested deserts. In China, this afforestation initiative has included the introduction of fruit-tree cultivation techniques, which contribute to the livelihood of local communities.

Toyota has also helped set up a center in China to foster afforestation expertise and disseminate information on greening technology. Applying the expertise gained in China, Toyota is expanding its tree planting activities to an area of the Philippines where logging for fuel and slash-and-burn agricultural methods have caused deforestation. There, it will help establish a renewable forest, harvested specifically for fuel, while encouraging residents to cultivate alternative cash crops like mangoes and cocoa beans.

"Our greatest desire is for our products to contribute to a better life for people around the world, both directly and indirectly," says Watanabe. "Rather than just trying to do good, we think deeply about how our technologies may be of wider benefit."



BEFORE



AFTER



ABOVE
Polish volunteers
plant a
community
garden.

BELOW LEFT
What was once
desert is now
green forest.

Inspiring a New Generation

Toyota's contributions to society are diverse and global. Many programs focus on the next generation, involving schoolchildren in educational and environmental activities. A case in point is the Toyota Schools for Sustainable Development program supported by Toyota companies in Poland, the United Kingdom, and the Czech Republic. The program mobilizes volunteers and provides grants to schools and local community groups to identify, plan and carry out local environmental improvements. In Poland, participants have refurbished playgrounds, created community gardens, preserved historical and cultural assets, and conducted other projects at some 30 sites. Toyota plans to expand the program throughout Europe in the future.

Taking up the Challenge

While it is easy for Toyota to make more contributions to sustainability, it is not always taking up the challenge and not being afraid to make mistakes along the way. Through innovation we believe that we can realize a more prosperous society in which co-existence of a natural environment is compatible with economic growth. The accelerated reduction of greenhouse gases, which are at the heart of the global warming issue, will challenge our courage and creativity, and with respect for people and communities. Today, as the big questions that have inspired our movement clearly for 70 years and still drive us toward a sustainable future for mankind, society and the planet.

Postcard: Lake Mead. The massive man-made reservoir supplies 90% of Las Vegas' water—and it's drying up. The growing Southwest tries to do more while drinking less

BY BRYAN WALSH

THERE IS NO SHORTAGE OF WAYS TO see just how short of water Lake Mead is. You can count the white bathtub rings of mineral deposits on the bedrock walls of the sprawling, 250-sq.-mi. (647 sq km) reservoir, indicating the old high-water mark—now left nakedly exposed 100 ft. up. You can look at the docks that have been moved repeatedly, chasing the receding lake. Or you can simply read a line graph at the reservoir's visitor center, which tracks the water elevation of Lake Mead since it was created by the construction of the Hoover Dam in 1935. After years of relative stability, starting in 2000 the graph resembles the record of a stock-market crash. The visitor center's chart stops at 2006, but as a park ranger tells me, "It just keeps going down from there."

The worrying question is whether it will ever stop. A major, prolonged drought, combined with rapid population growth in nearby urban areas like Las Vegas, has stressed Lake

Mead and the rest of the Colorado River Basin, which provides water to farmers and cities from Colorado to Southern California. Now there are fears that global warming could drastically reduce the Colorado River's flow—even as the Southwest continues to expand. Scientists at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography in La Jolla, Calif., last month estimated that there is a 50% chance that Lake Mead could be effectively dry by 2021 if the climate changes as forecast and water use is not curtailed. "I think we're at or beyond the level of water in the Southwest at which civilization can be sustained," says Tim Barnett, a research marine physicist at Scripps who co-authored the study.

The practical effects of climate change are notoriously difficult to predict on the regional level, and many experts criticize the Scripps study for failing to take into



Dried out A prolonged drought—and increasing demand—has left Lake Mead well below capacity

account improved water-management policies that could keep the lake wet well into the future. But it is as clear as those chalky white bathtub rings that Mead and the Colorado River are getting lower, and that could leave the states along the basin—whose populations grew 10% from 2000 to 2006, compared with the U.S. average of 5.6%—high and dry. "We don't think this is a regular drought," says Scott Huntley, a spokesman

for the Southern Nevada Water Authority (SNWA). "Something is going on. Something is happening."

Few urban areas are more vulnerable to those changes than Las Vegas, the driest big city in America. Vegas takes 90% of its water from Lake Mead, although Nevada gets by far the smallest share of water among the seven states that border the Colorado—just 2% of the total. (Each state draws a fixed amount according to a deal hammered out in 1922, when the river was at an unusually high level.) Pat Mulroy, the powerful head of the SNWA, says Las Vegas has worked hard to conserve water, paying residents to replace

thirsty lawns with desert-appropriate landscaping. The city's overall water use has dropped since 2002, even as population and visitor numbers have continued to rise, and Mulroy thinks Las Vegas still has room—and water—to develop smartly. "It's not whether you grow but how you grow," she says.

If the rest of the Southwest can use its water more efficiently, it should be safe for decades. One solution could involve diverting more of the river's water away from agriculture—which claims 85% of the supply—in favor of the region's thirsty cities. That would be challenging politically, but something has to give. Still, while Lake Mead has shrunk to just 52% of capacity, the immense reservoir still contains an incredible 9 trillion gal. (35 trillion cu L) of water. But the dry sky above and the rock all around reinforce the inescapable fact that this land was a desert, is a desert and always will be a desert. When the American explorer J.C. Ives visited the present location of the Hoover Dam in 1857, he declared the land "worthless," adding, "There is nothing there to do but leave." Today's residents are hoping there's another choice.

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A photograph of a man and a young boy fishing in a river. The man, wearing a cap and waders, is holding a fishing rod and looking at something in his hands. The boy, also in waders, is standing next to him, looking down at the same spot. The background shows a rocky riverbank with some vegetation.

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Inbox



A Campaign Comeback

HILLARY AND BILL CLINTON MIGHT BE "Ready to Rumble" the Democratic Party right into a loss in November [March 17]. Her plan is to convince the Democratic leadership that Barack Obama is unelectable. But if she fails to get the nomination, she might end up persuading swing voters to support John McCain in the general election. Maybe then she would become part of the Republican strategy team.

Paula Rantz, PALO ALTO, CALIF.

KAREN TUMULTY AND DAVID Von Drehle talk about how Hillary is obsessed with winning and has been mounting relentless attacks against Obama. That's the case with any candidate trying to catch up. Didn't Obama attack Clinton with the same intensity when she was considered the front runner? Winning is Obama's goal too. Neither candidate is more innocent than the other—it's just how the game is played. No need to scream bloody murder when Clinton is on the offensive.

Brenda Huang, SAN JOSE, CALIF.

THERE'S A HUGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN being a fighter and being a leader. During the last Democratic debate, I wondered

'If Nader weren't running this year, I still wouldn't vote for a Democrat. The party should stop complaining about Nader and try to earn my vote.'

Dan Debelak, MOUNDS VIEW, MINN.

what would have happened if Clinton had been President during a critical situation like the Cuban missile crisis. Would we have had nuclear warfare because she

would have tried to show how tough she is? I'd bet Obama would have acted as J.F.K. did, carefully considering his options and finding a way for the Soviets to save face and back away, thereby getting the U.S. what it wanted while preventing a nuclear holocaust. Clinton has not shown she understands that the presidency demands leadership above all, not simply a pugnacious personality.

Mary C. Helf, FLOURTOWN, PA.

Locked Up in the Land Of the Free

YOUR DASHBOARD GRAPHIC showing the racial breakdown of inmates reminded me why our prison system has deserved-

ly earned us the contempt of the world [March 17]. We incarcerate a larger percentage of the population than any other nation, and the government puts away harmless souls under the guise of fighting its two "wars" on terror and drugs. It's a tragic irony that *freedom* is now a mere buzzword in a land once regarded by many as a beacon to the world.

Gordon Wilson, LAGUNA NIGUEL, CALIF.

MAILBAG

Biggest mail getter:

Hillary Clinton



Clinton's Ohio and Texas wins prove that she still has a fighting chance



Clinton should step out of the ring—her second wind is not enough to knock out Obama



If it's an election year, he's running *The* indefatigable independent campaigns again

Breaking the Habit

THE WRITERS OF *THE WIRE* ARE WRONG to advocate jury nullification as civil disobedience in the war on drugs [March 17]. These men say they would acquit any drug defendant, regardless of the evidence, if the crime did not involve violence. Their position undermines the legal system—society would collapse if everyone applied this principle for his own social grievance. And it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between "nonviolent" and "violent" drug offenses. The seeds of violence—shattered lives, shattered bodies, broken homes—are sown every time illegal drugs "peacefully" pass from hand to hand. We indeed need a new script for the next act in the war on drugs. But we need people other than *The Wire's* creators to write it for us.

John Hickey, NEW YORK CITY

WHILE WE APPLAUD THE WRITERS OF *THE Wire* for recognizing the enormous cost and fundamental inequities of the war on drugs, jury nullification is not a reasonable course of action. Not only would it take decades to have a real effect, but it is notoriously unreliable. We have found a solution to this problem: paid work, coupled with a drug-free environment and comprehensive support services.

Every day in New York City, our Ready, Willing & Able program works with hundreds of former drug offenders, successfully helping them become law-abiding, self-sufficient members of society. It's a proven formula, in use right now, and it can put an end to the war on drugs once and for all.

George McDonald and Harriet Karr-McDonald, Co-Founders, the Doe Fund, NEW YORK CITY

THANK GOODNESS SOMEONE HAD THE fortitude to address this horrific problem now facing our society. Incarcerating drug users only intensifies the problems of drug use. Addicts who have served time in prison not only still face the nightmare of trying to quit but also have a criminal record that multiplies their difficulties if they try to become productive members of society. We add the terrible handicap of a prison

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IN DEFENSE OF THE LAW

The writers of *The Wire* advocate a very dangerous form of civil disobedience [March 17]. I am a former

LETTER FROM A PROSECUTOR

narcotics detective and current drug prosecutor who deals with the likes of the characters Bodie, Bubbles and Wallace and the lives of those they touch. Most important, I am a father of four. I agree that we need to change how we deal with our nation's drug problem and its root causes. However, throwing a grenade into the room and slamming the door is not the solution. We in the trenches will be left to sort out and pick up the pieces. The system they are attempting to derail is the same one that protects the individual liberties of all. Intentionally tampering with the integrity of the legal system is dangerous and irresponsible.

Loren Marc Lampert, Assistant District Attorney, ALEXANDRIA, LA.

record to those who often begin with the disadvantage of lack of education and come from an environment of poverty. If this country would decriminalize drugs and regulate and tax their sale, not only would we eliminate the drug lords' great wealth and the violence they perpetrate, but we could use the tax revenue to create counseling centers.

Patricia Wedemeier, DALLAS

REMOVING PROFITS FROM DRUG TRAFFICKING through decriminalization would be a better solution than jury nullification. Before Prohibition, many of the drugs ruled illegal today were legal. We didn't have the problems then that we do today—no profit motive, no economic engine driving the illegal-drug economy and fewer people being sent to prison.

Lyle La Faver, MIDDLETOWN, CALIF.

Farewell to Arms

I READ THE ARTICLE ABOUT BRETT FAVRE'S retirement from football, then reread it—and read it one more time [March 17]. Green Bay Packers backers here in Wisconsin have had a very sad week. We are all happy for Favre and wish him well, but

we wonder what in the world we will do without him. Your article reminded me that I am not alone.

Mary Towne, DELAFIELD, WIS.

THE UNIQUE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAN and Favre goes far beyond the residents of Green Bay—or even the residents of Wisconsin for that matter. In many ways Favre has been America's player. There are Green Bay Packers fans from coast to coast. Why? Because Favre played for the love of the game, and it showed every time he got on the field. That's why he started 275 straight games. That's why he broke so many NFL records this past season. I watched with tears as he said his emotional farewell to football, and I don't consider myself a Cheesehead. I've never even had the pleasure of visiting Lambeau Field. Favre was an amazing and unique player, and he will be missed.

Michelle Drabek, STONE LAKE, WIS.

Energy Gets a Boost

"NOT A WATT TO BE WASTED" ATTRACTED my interest with its idea of using bridge vibrations to generate electricity [March 17]. A far greater source of energy is the ocean's tides. Off the coast of New England, tides rise and fall 8 ft. to 12 ft. twice a day. How

about generating electricity from floating pistons on the ocean? Unlike dams, floating pistons would be friendly to marine life; they would not silt up bays and would be far less expensive to construct. Just north of Maine, in the Bay of Fundy, a moon tide can be 50 ft. If intermittent vibrations on a bridge are being used to generate 20 microwatts to 120 microwatts, why not think bigger?

Robert F. Bourque, NORTH PORT, FLA.

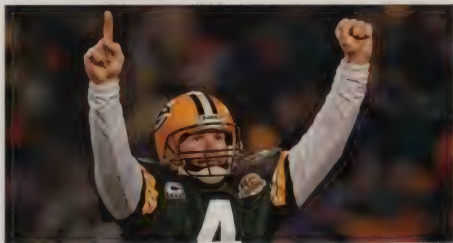
Music Therapy?

IT WAS REMARKABLE THAT THERE WAS so much hoopla over whether the New York Philharmonic's performance in Pyongyang could somehow have a lasting effect on relations between North Korea and the civilized world [March 10]. The Bard declared that what's past is prologue. Not quite four decades ago, the U.S. table-tennis team ping-ponged to Peking, enabling Nixon to play the China card against the Soviets, but that only led to nearly two decades of détente. The only effective way to bring about the end of totalitarian regimes is direct confrontation. The U.S.S.R. fell because Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and Pope John Paul II confronted that country.

Richard Kade, SUNNYVALE, CALIF.

'There are Green Bay Packers fans from coast to coast. Why? Because Favre played for the love of the game, and it showed every time he got on the field.'

Michelle Drabek, STONE LAKE, WIS.



Heavenly Favre A pastor in Green Bay, Wis., keeps a bobblehead of Brett on the church windowsill



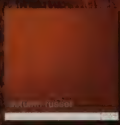
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"It felt good to say we've won an NCAA game."—FORWARD KELLY BEIDLER, WHOSE MOUNT ST. MARY'S TEAM WON THE PLAY-IN GAME

Briefing

THE MOMENT



Hoop Dreams. Each March, the world's most powerful country roots for its underdogs

IT'S HARD FOR AMERICANS to feel like underdogs these days. We seem normal size in our own skins, but to the rest of the world, we've become a nation of supersizing, regime-changing, SUV driving Goliaths. This may be why the NCAA men's basketball tournament—where little mutts like geographically confused Cleveland State and it can't possibly have a team Oral Roberts run with purebreds Duke and UCLA—grows in meaning every year. It may also be the gambling, the guilt-free jalapeño popper

binges or the camaraderie born when three quarters of the workforce enters a two-hour conspiracy to disappear.

But back to the Goliath thing. The Sunday before the tournament begins, all the contenders are ranked from 1 (the awesomest of the awesome) to 16 (the meekest of the meek) in each of four regional groups. Then 16 plays 1 and 15 battles 2 and so forth in a three-week single-elimination march to the championship. No sporting event is as elegantly constructed or as essentially American. There are the

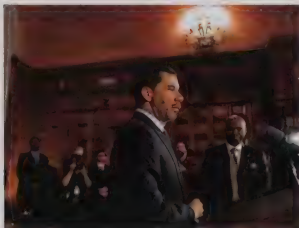
massing of schools rich and poor, public and private; the opportunity for all to face off neutrally; and the assignment of an indisputable qualitative value. That last element, the seedings, may seem like cruel status reinforcement, but when an upset happens—and upsets always happen—its

March Madness is at its maddest when little schools get one shot at Goliath

magnitude can be assessed with statistical clarity, so that we know just how far the mighty have fallen and how high the mutts have leaped.

The best action in the tournament is concentrated into

the first four days, when 64 schools get whittled down to 16. For basketball fans, there is the orgy of games, with starting times carefully choreographed so that each ends a few minutes apart, allowing CBS to show every buzzer beater or near miss. (It's the least the network could expect for the \$6 billion it has ponied up to broadcast the event for just over a decade.) But for secular audiences, those first few days are also when March Madness is at its maddest, when little schools get their one shot at Goliath. Most will miss, but a few will stun the odds and themselves and in their ragged glory remind us of just how satisfying it can be to hold a sling shot. —BY JOSH TYRANGIEL ■



ALBANY, N.Y.

David Paterson replaces Eliot Spitzer as New York governor



NEW YORK CITY

Crane crushes home, kills seven



AUSTIN, TEXAS

Hundreds of acts play South by Southwest music fest

Dashboard

WASHINGTON MEMO

SPYING HAS long been a risky business, but now America's spooks complain that they're facing double jeopardy: a potentially rising tide of lawsuits and criminal proceedings, plus investigations by Congress. To help secret agents who may need the advice of a lawyer, CIA director Michael Hayden this week generously offered CIA employees the ultimate perk: full reimbursement of legal liability insurance. And it will cover all employees involved in covert activity, not just those working in counterterrorism and counterproliferation.

Jose A. Rodriguez, former director of the clandestine service, is one policyholder. He'll need the money to deal with the legal consequences of ordering the destruction of videos showing the CIA's interrogation and possible torture of a pair of al-Qaeda suspects. Scores of other spies with their own potential legal problems are also believed to have purchased coverage, but their identities



are not public. Wright & Co. of Arlington, Va., the company that sells most of the insurance, says a basic plan costs about \$300 annually. That pays for up to \$1 million worth of court judgments or settlements, up to \$100,000 for a criminal defense, and as much as \$200,000 for a civil defense or penalties in an administrative proceeding.

Behind the CIA's insurance boom lurks a fear that the number of agency employees who become targets of legal action could multiply with a new President. Candidates Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama have unambiguously opposed torture, while John McCain, a prisoner in Hanoi during the Vietnam War, has sponsored legislation to ban interrogation methods like waterboarding. If Congress holds new hearings, anyone called to testify will need a lawyer. And with more detainees being released and claiming they were tortured, some CIA officers' need for legal counsel—and insurance to cover the cost—is sure to rise. —BY ADAM ZAGORIN

ECONOMY

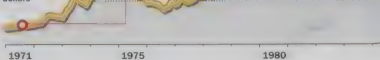
All That Glitters

For investors, gold is a traditional hedge in uncertain times, whenever inflation or geopolitical tensions loom. Little wonder, then, that its price has skyrocketed amid the current market turmoil. A look at some other moments when jitters gave gold a push:



1971
GOLD STANDARD ENDS
Nixon's suspension allows gold prices to fluctuate freely

Gold price
Per troy ounce,
in 2008
dollars



ELECTIONS

Zimbabwe's Democratic Dictator

For the first time since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, its 84-year-old President, Robert Mugabe, faces real competition in the country's March 29 elections. Largely owing to dissatisfaction over food and fuel shortages, 80% unemployment and 100,500% inflation, the three opposition candidates—including a former member of his own party—are gaining momentum. **RIGGED AGAIN?** Mugabe is accused of fixing his last election, in 2005; this time, he has barred U.S. and European monitors and has limited media access amid reports of corrupt voter registration, gerrymandering and threats of violence against the opposition.



Briefing



SHENZHEN, CHINA

Flu outbreak in southern China closes schools and fills hospitals



ATLANTA

Tornado strikes downtown buildings, crowded basketball arena



1979

MIDDLE EAST TENSION

The Iranian hostage crisis, stagflation and oil woes lead to an all-time peak



1987

STOCK-MARKET CRASH

In the months after Black Monday, gold reaches its highest price in five years



1990

IRAQ INVADERS KUWAIT

Prices jump, then fall as allied forces react



2008

CREDIT CRISIS

Gold has risen 41% since last August; it hit a peak of \$1,033 on March 17

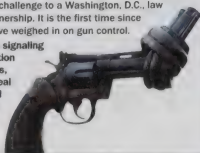


SECOND AMENDMENT

Ruling on the Right to Bear Arms

The U.S. Supreme Court is hearing a challenge to a Washington, D.C., law that bans almost all forms of gun ownership. It is the first time since 1939 that the Supreme Court will have weighed in on gun control.

IN THE CROSSHAIRS With key justices signaling early on that they think the Constitution protects a person's right to bear arms, the D.C. gun ban may fall. If so, the real question is how broadly the court will rule: you have the right to a handgun at home, but what about automatic or concealed weapons? Clarity on the issue may be an elusive target.



JUSTICE

A Troubled Terrorist Watch List

In theory, the Terrorist Screening Database should contain only the names of those likely to commit acts of terrorism. But a U.S. Justice Department audit has revealed that for nearly three years, the list—used by airport screeners, embassy officials and law-enforcement officers alike—has been compiled using old or inaccurate data.

WHAT HAPPENED? The FBI was slow to clear the names of those no longer suspected. (The list has ballooned to more than 900,000 people.) Some legitimate suspects, on the other hand, were added belatedly or not at all.



The Page

Campaign Insider. For Hillary Clinton, an economic adviser who has seen it all before



The Veteran Economic policy adviser Gene Sperling has worked on both Bill and Hillary Clinton's presidential campaigns

IT FEELS A BIT LIKE THE OLD DAYS. A BUSH IS IN the White House, the economy is teetering, and Clinton is claiming to be able to fix it. And as before, **Gene Sperling** is right in the middle of things.

The famously ruffled, workaholic Sperling rose from Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign war room to become his chief economic-policy adviser, and he now works as one of the most visible advisers to Hillary Clinton's campaign. He trained as a lawyer but developed a passion for economic policy in the wake of the Democrats' 1980 presidential defeat. "I felt the Democrats were not portraying themselves as being both fighters for equity and believers in growth and optimism," Sperling says.

The economy has become far more complicated in the past 16 years. "It's a harder issue now not only because of the national housing crisis we're in but because you have a broader sense of economic anxiety," Sperling says. "In 1992, people were worried they were staying in the same place. In 2008, people have a real fear of falling."

Now a married father, Sperling is teased by his wife that advising Clinton is one of "five full-time jobs" he holds, including his work on education in the developing world. (Angelina Jolie is a partner in one project.) But Sperling still makes it home most nights to put his 23-month-old daughter to bed before logging in a few more hours for the campaign. "Sleep does lose out," he admits. "At 49, I don't handle a four-hour sleep night as well as I did at 32." —BY KAREN TUMULTY

Politics up to the minute

Mark Halperin reports from the campaign every day on thepage.time.com



VEEPSTAKES

Let the Horse Race Begin

With the Republican nomination under his belt, **John McCain**'s next task is vetting possible running mates. There are several laps to go—the vice-presidential candidate probably won't be chosen until this summer—but here's a look at the early odds:



CONDOLEEZZA RICE

PRO: The seasoned Secretary of State would be the first black-woman candidate from either party.
CONS: Calls herself "mildly pro-choice"; tainted by Iraq mismanagement.

THE LINE: *Underdog.* With President Bush's low approval ratings, McCain may want a fresh start.



ROB PORTMAN

PRO: Young, fiscally conservative former Office of Management and Budget head from the swing state of Ohio.
CON: Nearly invisible national profile.

THE LINE: *Sleeper.* Quiet, competent and base-friendly; an under-the-radar contender.



MARK SANFORD

PRO: Genial, maverick governor of South Carolina with a strong conservative record.
CONS: Comes from a safe Republican state; refused earlier to endorse McCain.

THE LINE: *Risky bet.* That snub in the S.C. primary may have shot his chance at this ticket.



HALEY BARBOUR

PRO: Mississippi governor with strong ties to the GOP power grid in D.C.
CON: McCain campaign already well-stocked with current and former lobbyists.

THE LINE: *Long shot.* An influence broker on the ticket could hurt McCain's reformist rep.



TIM PAWLENTY

PRO: Governor of swing state Minnesota and a longtime ally with proven campaign skills.
CONS: Has clashed with conservatives; McCain lost Minnesota caucuses.

THE LINE: *Pacesetter.* Stood by McCain during his campaign's dark days; rewards may await.



DAVID PETRAEUS

PRO: Embodies the new, more successful Iraq policy, on which McCain has staked his candidacy.
CONS: No political experience; military career not yet done.

THE LINE: *Dark horse.* The general could serve his purpose just by being mentioned on a short list.

GOD-O-METER

Preacher Troubles

Barack Obama's March 18 speech in Philadelphia was billed as being about "race, politics and unifying our country." But it was also about religion, as Obama was forced to address calls for him to further distance himself from Jeremiah Wright, the incendiary former pastor of his home church. Still, the Illinois Senator demurred. "As imperfect as he may be," Obama said, "he has been like family to me." Obama's attempt to



address the racial issues Wright raised could backfire if opponents hammer away on Obama's refusal to condemn him. If John Kerry suffered for appearing disconnected from his own church, Obama might suffer for being too close to his.



For daily God-o-Meter readings covering all the presidential candidates, visit beliefnet.com

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

SECLARIST

THEOCRAT

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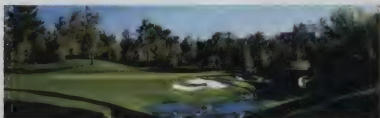
VACATION DESTINATIONS THAT ARE PAR FOR THE COURSE.

Explore some of the world's most romantic getaways.



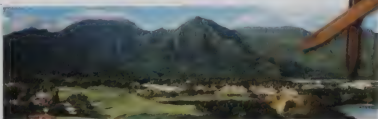
PAGET, BERMUDA

Bermuda is known for many things. It's a romantic island paradise. It's an international hub for cultural exchange. Plus, it's a great place for golf. And while you're there, visit Elbow Beach Bermuda, one of the island's finest resorts. With a world-class spa, a temperature-controlled swimming pool and an on-site shop offering snorkeling and kayaking equipment, Elbow Beach earns its title as a top do-all, be-all Bermuda resort.



LAS VEGAS, NEVADA

Who would've thought that you'd find a golfer's paradise in the middle of the desert? We're talking about challenging fairways that reward the courageous and punish the indecisive. We're talking about Vegas, baby! And you'll find it all at the Wynn Las Vegas. Visit its luxurious spa for a deep tissue massage. Then relax in the sculptured pools or at the bar. And then do it all again tomorrow.



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Lush tropical jungles. Pristine waterfalls. Emerald mountains. The garden state of Kauai is as close to a romantic paradise on earth as it gets. Add a little golf to that equation and, well, life just doesn't get any better. Situated on a verdant bluff on the island's North Shore, the Princeville Resort dazzles with superb dining, exceptional recreational facilities and, of course, one of the nation's top-rated golf courses.

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ORBITZ

Verbatim

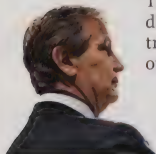
'The Shoah fills us Germans with shame. I bow before the victims. I bow before the survivors and before all those who helped them survive.'

ANGELA MERKEL, German Chancellor, using the Hebrew word for Holocaust in the third speech ever delivered in German to the Israeli parliament



'I saw smoke and bodies.'

MOHAMMED KADHEM, witness to a woman's suicide-bomb attack that killed at least 52 people in the Shi'ite holy city of Karbala, Iraq

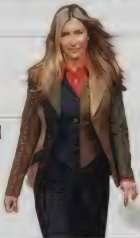


'The past week has been an incredibly difficult time for Bear Stearns. This transaction represents the best outcome for all of our constituencies.'

ALAN SCHWARTZ, president and CEO of Bear Stearns, which, as part of a federal bailout, was acquired by rival JPMorgan Chase for \$236.2 million—a meager \$2 per share

'I'm so, so happy with this.'

HEATHER MILLS, on a \$48.6 million settlement in her divorce from former Beatle Paul McCartney



'It's a message to Iran that the United States will never leave, even after Bush is gone.'

WAEEL ABDUL LATIF, Iraqi parliamentarian, on Senator John McCain's recent visit to Iraq



'My reaction is, O.K., now since it's over, it has no effect, it's not binding, let's get back to work.'

KWAME KILPATRICK, mayor of Detroit, on the city council's nonbinding call for his resignation. Text messages surfaced in January that proved the embattled mayor had lied under oath about an affair with his chief of staff

NUMBERS

MORTGAGES

46,700

Number of U.S. mortgage-fraud reports in 2007. Deliberate deception on mortgage applications has cost the banking industry \$1 billion over the past decade

2%

Percentage of properties in foreclosure last year in Florida, the state with the highest rate of mortgage fraud

BASKETBALL

1

Number of the four top-seeded colleges in the NCAA men's basketball tournament that have at least a 50% graduation success rate among their players, according to a new study. The rate at UNC is 86%, while those at Kansas, UCLA and Memphis are below 46%

\$545 million

Projected TV ad sales for this year's tourney

AEROSPACE

4

Estimated number of hours it will take to fly from London to Sydney on a beyond-the-atmosphere space plane being developed by Europe's EADS Astrium



\$315,000

Estimated cost per ticket aboard the proposed four-passenger craft. The 10,600-mile (17,000 km) journey currently takes more than 21 hours and costs about \$1,000

LABOR

25.2%

Percentage of New York residents belonging to labor unions in 2007—the highest of any state

27

Number of states where union membership declined in 2007

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Sources: AP, Reuters, JPMorgan & Chase, AP, New York Times, Detroit Free Press

Sources: AP, Mortgage Asset Research Institute, FIDUS AF-TSS, Media Intelligence, BBG, EADS Astrium, Guinness, U.S. Dept. of Labor

People



Q & A

Talking with Adam Duritz

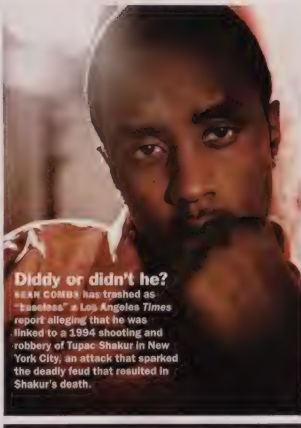
The Counting Crows front man talks about the group's new double album, *Saturday Nights & Sunday Mornings*, hitting stores March 25.

What's the concept behind the album? I had a song called 1492, and it inspired a record about dissolution, which was *Saturday Nights*. While we were finishing that, I started to think of a companion piece, about what you do with your life once you've wrecked it. That became the *Sunday Mornings* record.

When you're writing, do you ever think, This would be a great single? Singles are a waste of time. You have no idea what would make a good single. They're bad for us, because the kind of song [executives] want to put on the radio is a misrepresentation of what our records really sound like.

Do you enjoy the relationship you've developed with fans on your blog? I like to be honest. We have arguments online about Justin Timberlake. I thought his first record was fantastic. We had this argument for ages about how uncool that was. And it's like, I can't be uncool—I'm the rock star.

Will you ever change your hair? I don't know. When I was a kid, I spent my life looking in the mirror and thinking, I don't get it—that's not me. The first time I got dreads, I caught my reflection in a window. And it was the first time that I saw me. It was like the first time I wrote a song—I'm defined now.



Diddy or didn't he?

KEAN CONNOR has trashed as "baseless" a *Los Angeles Times* report alleging that he was linked to a 1994 shooting and robbery of Tupac Shakur in New York City, an attack that sparked the deadly feud that resulted in Shakur's death.



Religious differences

Aspiring actor and Hasidic Jew **ABE KARPEN** has quit his role as **NATALIE PORTMAN**'s husband in the film *New York, I Love You* under pressure from Hasidic rabbis, whose strict interpretation of Judaism forbids watching movies or TV.

CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

Born. Nahla Ariela, to **HALLE BERRY** and boyfriend Gabriel Aubry

Sentenced. **BUSTA RHYMES**, to three years' probation for his role in two assaults last year

Settled. Divorce agreement between **PAUL MCCARTNEY** and **HEATHER MILLS**, for \$50 million

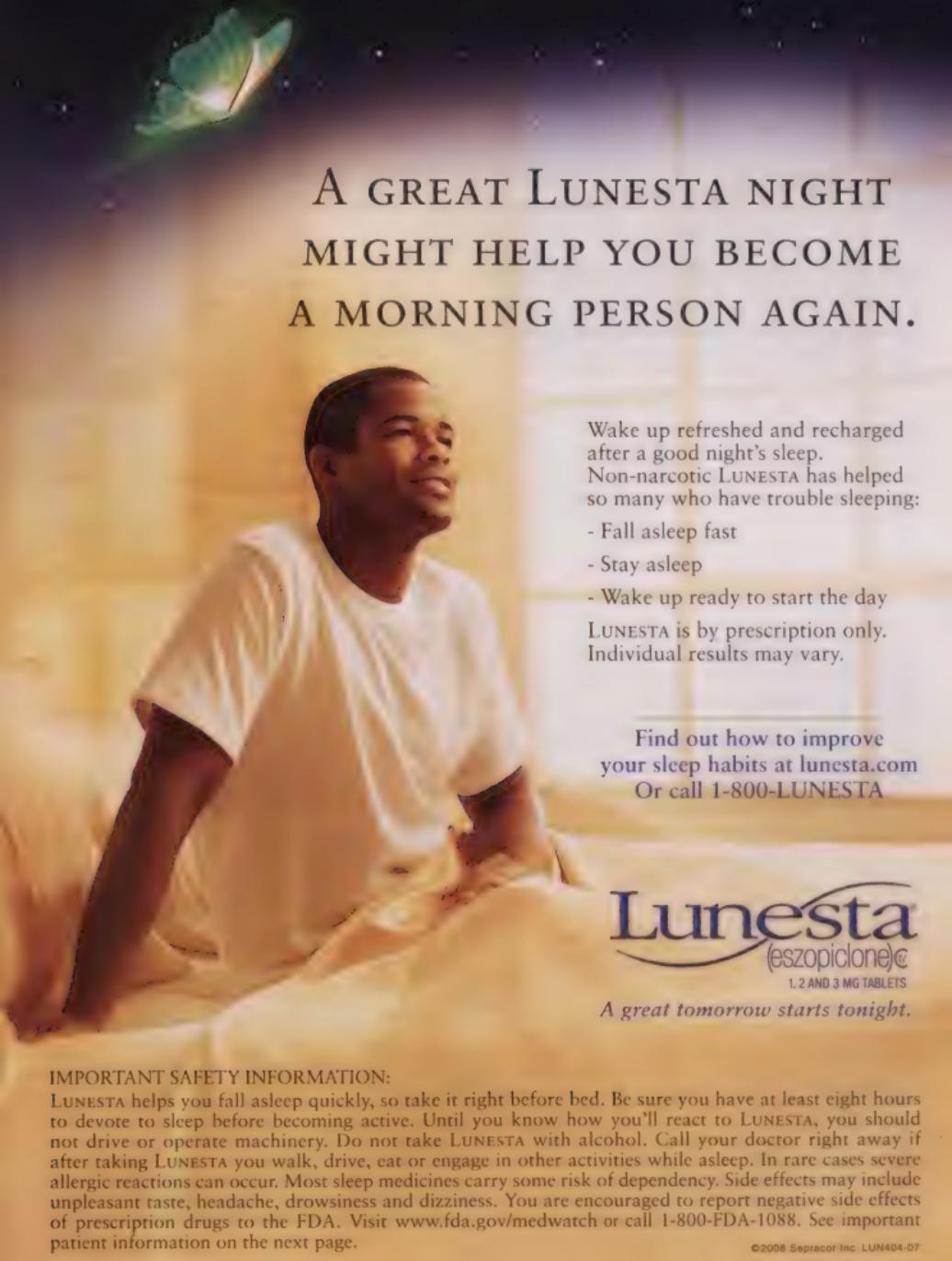
Teaming up. **SHERYL CROW** and **FLEETWOOD MAC**, according to Crow, who said her collaboration with the Hall of Fame band could take place sometime next year

Postponed. A scheduled public auction of **MICHAEL JACKSON**'s Neverland Ranch, until May 14. Jackson's attorney said the singer hopes to have either sold or refinanced the property by then

Snooping on Spears

UCLA Medical Center plans to fire at least 13 of its workers and has suspended six others after they allegedly peeked at the medical records of **BRITNEY SPEARS** during the singer's January hospitalization for psychiatric evaluation. This wasn't the first time staffers were caught perusing Spears' records—some were also disciplined in 2005, when her first son was born.





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LUNESTA helps you fall asleep quickly, so take it right before bed. Be sure you have at least eight hours to devote to sleep before becoming active. Until you know how you'll react to LUNESTA, you should not drive or operate machinery. Do not take LUNESTA with alcohol. Call your doctor right away if after taking LUNESTA you walk, drive, eat or engage in other activities while asleep. In rare cases severe allergic reactions can occur. Most sleep medicines carry some risk of dependency. Side effects may include unpleasant taste, headache, drowsiness and dizziness. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088. See important patient information on the next page.



Please read this summary of information about LUNESTA before you talk to your doctor or start using LUNESTA. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. If you have any questions about LUNESTA tablets, be sure to ask your doctor or pharmacist.

LUNESTA is used to treat different types of sleep problems, such as difficulty in falling asleep, difficulty in maintaining sleep during the night, and waking up too early in the morning. Most people with insomnia have more than one of these problems. You should take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed because of the risk of falling.

LUNESTA belongs to a group of medicines known as "hypnotics" or simply sleep medicines. There are many different sleep medicines available to help people sleep better. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent. It usually requires treatment for only a short time, usually 7 to 10 days up to 2 weeks. If your insomnia does not improve after 7 to 10 days of treatment, see your doctor, because it may be a sign of an underlying condition. Some people have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicines. However, you should not use these medicines for long periods without talking with your doctor about the risks and benefits of prolonged use.

Side Effects

All medicines have side effects. The most common side effects of sleep medicines are:

- Drowsiness
- Dizziness
- Lightheadedness
- Difficulty with coordination

Sleep medicines can make you sleepy during the day. How drowsy you feel depends upon how your body reacts to the medicine, which sleep medicine you are taking, and how large a dose your doctor has prescribed. Daytime drowsiness is best avoided by taking the lowest dose possible that will still help you sleep at night. Your doctor will work with you to find the dose of LUNESTA that is best for you. Some people taking LUNESTA have reported next-day sleepiness.

To manage these side effects while you are taking this medicine:

- When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- Do not drink alcohol when you are taking LUNESTA or any sleep medicine. Alcohol can increase the side effects of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
- Do not take any other medicines without asking your doctor first. This includes medicines you can buy without a prescription. Some medicines can cause drowsiness and are best avoided while taking LUNESTA.
- Always take the exact dose of LUNESTA prescribed by your doctor. Never change your dose without talking to your doctor first.

Special Concerns

There are some special problems that may occur while taking sleep medicines.

Memory Problems

Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or "amnesia." When this occurs, a person may not remember what has happened for several hours after taking the medicine. This is usually not a problem since most people fall asleep after taking the medicine. Memory loss can be a problem, however, when sleep medicines are taken while traveling, such as during an airplane flight and the person wakes up before the effect of the medicine is gone. This has been called "traveler's amnesia." Memory problems have been reported rarely by patients taking LUNESTA in clinical studies. In most cases, memory problems can be avoided if

you take LUNESTA only when you are able to get a full night of sleep before you need to be active again. Be sure to talk to your doctor if you think you are having memory problems.

Tolerance

When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks, they may lose their effectiveness in helping you sleep. This is known as "tolerance." Development of tolerance to LUNESTA was not observed in a clinical study of 6 months' duration. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent, and prolonged use of sleep medicines is generally not necessary. Some people, though, have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. If your sleep problems continue, consult your doctor, who will determine whether other measures are needed to overcome your sleep problems.

Dependence

Sleep medicines can cause dependence in some people, especially when these medicines are used regularly for longer than a few weeks or at high doses. Dependence is the need to continue taking a medicine because stopping it is unpleasant.

When people develop dependence, stopping the medicine suddenly may cause unpleasant symptoms (see *Withdrawal* below). They may find they have to keep taking the medicine either at the prescribed dose or at increasing doses just to avoid withdrawing symptoms.

All people taking sleep medicines have some risk of becoming dependent on the medicine. However, people who have been dependent on alcohol or other drugs in the past may have a higher chance of becoming addicted to sleep medicines. This possibility must be considered before using these medicines for more than a few weeks. If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your doctor before starting LUNESTA or any sleep medicine.

Withdrawal

Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stopped suddenly after being used daily for a long time. In some cases, these symptoms can occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two. In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more severe cases, abdominal and muscle cramps, vomiting, sweating, shakiness, and, rarely, seizures may occur. These more severe withdrawal symptoms are very uncommon. Although withdrawal symptoms have not been observed in the relatively limited controlled trials experience with LUNESTA, there is, nevertheless, the risk of such events in association with the use of any sleep medicine.

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as "rebound insomnia." This means that a person may have more trouble sleeping the first few nights after the medicine is stopped than before starting the medicine. If you should experience rebound insomnia, do not get discouraged. This problem usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights.

If you have been taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for more than 1 or 2 weeks, do not stop taking it on your own. Always follow your doctor's directions.

Changes in Behavior And Thinking

Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not common. However, they have included:

- More outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal
- Confusion
- Strange behavior
- Agitation
- Hallucinations
- Worsening of depression
- Suicidal thoughts

How often these effects occur depends on several factors, such as a person's general health, the use of other medicines, and which sleep medicine is being used. Clinical experience with LUNESTA suggests that it is rarely associated with these behavior changes.

It is also important to realize it is rarely clear whether these behavior changes are caused by the medicine, are caused by an illness, or have occurred on their own. In fact, sleep problems that do not improve may be due to illnesses that were present before the medicine was used. If you or your family notice

any changes in your behavior, or if you have any unusual or disturbing thoughts, call your doctor immediately.

Pregnancy And Breastfeeding

Sleep medicines may cause sedation or other potential effects in the unborn baby when used during the last weeks of pregnancy. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking LUNESTA.

In addition, a very small amount of LUNESTA may be present in breast milk after use of the medication. The effects of very small amounts of LUNESTA on an infant are not known; therefore, as with all other prescription sleep medicines, it is recommended that you not take LUNESTA if you are breastfeeding a baby.

Safe Use Of Sleep Medicines

To ensure the safe and effective use of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, you should observe the following cautions:

1. LUNESTA is a prescription medicine and should be used ONLY as directed by your doctor. Follow your doctor's instructions about how to take, when to take, and how long to take LUNESTA.
2. Never use LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for longer than directed by your doctor.
3. If you notice any unusual and/or disturbing thoughts or behavior during treatment with LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, contact your doctor.
4. Tell your doctor about any medicines you may be taking, including medicines you may buy without a prescription and herbal preparations. You should also tell your doctor if you drink alcohol. DO NOT use alcohol while taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
5. Do not take LUNESTA unless you are able to get 8 or more hours of sleep before you must be active again.
6. Do not increase the prescribed dose of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine unless instructed by your doctor.
7. When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
8. Be aware that you may have more sleeping problems the first night or two after stopping any sleep medicine.
9. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant, or if you are breastfeeding a baby while taking LUNESTA.
10. As with all prescription medicines, never share LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine with anyone else. Always store LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine in the original container and out of reach of children.
11. Be sure to tell your doctor if you suffer from depression.
12. LUNESTA works very quickly. You should only take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed.
13. For LUNESTA to work best, you should not take it with or immediately after a high-fat, heavy meal.
14. Some people, such as older adults (i.e., ages 65 and over) and people with liver disease, should start with the lower dose (1 mg) of LUNESTA. Your doctor may choose to start therapy at 2 mg. In general, adults under age 65 should be treated with 2 or 3 mg.
15. Each tablet is a single dose; do not crush or break the tablet.

Note: This summary provides important information about LUNESTA. If you would like more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist to let you read the Prescribing Information and then discuss it with him or her.

Rx only



Milestones

DIED MOST RECENTLY SHE was leading life as a grownup, working for an insurance company and making plans to study psychology in grad school. But many remember **Vicki Van Meter** as the brave sixth-grader beaming from the cockpit of her single-engine Cessna 172—the kid who in 1993 became the youngest girl



to fly across the U.S. and, later, across the Atlantic to Scotland. Van Meter, who spent two years in Moldova in the Peace Corps, suffered from depression and died of an apparently self-inflicted gunshot wound at 26.

■ THE FILM INDUSTRY IS WELL known for its sharks, which is why it is so striking that director and British Film Institute ex chairman **Anthony Minghella** was consistently praised by colleagues for his "sweetness." That quality, along with his gift for the edgy, sweeping story, helped Minghella make



Minghella

powerful, critically acclaimed films, including *The Talented Mr. Ripley*, which earned him an Oscar nomination for writing; *Cold Mountain*; and 1996's *The English Patient*, which won nine Academy Awards, among them Best Director for Minghella. The filmmaker, who had just finished shooting *The No. 1 Ladies' Detective Agency* in Botswana, died suddenly of a hemorrhage following surgery for a cancerous growth on his neck. Minghella was 54.

■ AS A JOURNALIST INTENT ON capturing the suffering of the Vietnamese during the war, Magnum photographer **Philip Jones Griffiths** was at first a hard sell in the U.S. Thanks in part to a lucrative shot of Jackie Kennedy in Cambodia, he kept working. His now classic 1971 book, *Vietnam Inc.*, with its unprecedented texture and detail, dramatically influenced Americans' perception of the war. Griffiths, who had been in poor health, was 72.

■ DURING THE BIKE-RIDING craze of the 1970s, businessman **Richard Burke**, an avid runner, sensed a market for a



high-quality, American-made bike to compete with then dominant Japanese imports. In 1976 in a red barn in Waterloo, Wis., Burke started Trek with five employees. Trek, the bike on which Lance Armstrong rode to his Tour de France victories, is now the country's largest bikemaker. Burke was 73 and died of complications following heart surgery.

■ FOR DAYS THE VIET CONG fired at Lieut. General **Robert Haldane** and his battalion from within the troops' own lines—then seemed to vanish in open terrain. After scouring the battlefield near Saigon, a soldier stumbled on an elaborately camouflaged trapdoor. Haldane's team had found the now infamous Cu Chi tunnels, a maze that at its peak went on for 155 miles (250 km) and now draws thousands of tourists every year. Haldane, who won a Silver Star for helping wounded GIs amid the sniping, was 83.

■ HE MADE MILLIONS IN THE parking-lot industry, but as the unabashedly liberal three-term Senator from Ohio, **Howard Metzenbaum** rarely refrained from tweaking Big Business. A favorite of labor and consumer groups and the original sponsor of the Brady Bill limiting gun purchases, Metzenbaum regularly used his encyclopedic knowledge of Senate rules to block special-interest legislation. Dubbed "Headline Howard"

by colleagues irked by his outspokenness, Metzenbaum explained that to generate discussion, "sometimes you have to be an s.o.b." He was 90.

■ SCIENCE-FICTION WRITER **Arthur C. Clarke's** lifelong fascination with the myriad possibilities of space exploration helped ring in the space age. Lured as a boy by sci-fi magazines and his own homemade telescope, Clarke studied phys-



Griffiths

ics before turning to writing full time. Among the advances he foresaw in more than 100 works: space travel, communications satellites and computers. His writing, most famously the futuristic novel 2001: A Space Odyssey, often came back to the theme of humankind gaining enlightenment from contact with alien life. He believed E.T.s would send a sign, noting last year, "We have no way of guessing when... I hope sooner than later." He was 90.

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Joe

Klein

Obama's Challenge—and Ours. His speech on race was a triumph. Now he has to keep telling hard truths

"I CAN NO MORE DISOWN [THE REV. Jeremiah Wright] than I can my white grandmother," Barack Obama said in the most powerful sentence of his extraordinary speech about race on March 18 in Philadelphia, "a woman who helped raise me, a woman who sacrificed again and again for me... but a woman who once confessed her fear of black men who passed by her on the street, and who on more than one occasion has uttered racial or ethnic stereotypes that made me cringe."

Too often in this campaign, Obama's rhetoric has been gorgeous but abstract, ear candy for the educated. But this simple statement, equating his black surrogate father and his white surrogate mother, was something any fair-minded person could understand: almost every one of us has an uncle or a grandmother good for at least two jaw-droppers every Thanksgiving. Yes, the Senator was comparing apples and freight trains: Wright's hate speech was as public and consequential as the grandmother's stereotypes were private, but Obama came to this comparison only after he had unequivocally condemned his pastor for having "a profoundly distorted view of this country."

The rhetorical magic of the speech—what made it extraordinary—was that it was, at once, both unequivocal and healing. There were no weasel words, no Bushian platitudes or Clintonian verb parsing. Obama was unequivocal in his candor about black anger and white resentment—sentiments

The speech was both unequivocal and healing. There were no weasel words, Bushian platitudes or Clintonian verb-parsing

that few mainstream politicians acknowledge (although demagogues of both races have consistently exploited them). And he was unequivocal in his refusal to disown Wright. Cynics and political opponents quickly noted that Obama used a forest of verbiage to camouflage a correction—the fact that he was aware of Wright's views, that he had heard such sermons from the pulpit, after first denying that he had. And that may have been politics as usual. But the speech wasn't.



It was a grand demonstration of the largely unfulfilled promise of Obama's candidacy: the possibility that, given his eloquence and intelligence, he will be able to create a new sense of national unity—not by smoothing over problems but by confronting them candidly and with civility. Unfortunately, that hasn't always been the case. In recent weeks, he has been boggled twice by policy advisers who have been caught in the act of telling difficult truths—on trade and Iraq—that the candidate himself denied on the campaign trail. Perhaps now, having learned how cathartic truth-telling can be, Obama will summon the courage to tell Pennsylvania audiences that free trade agreements like NAFTA have only a marginal impact on the loss of manufacturing jobs and that it will be impossible to end the war in Iraq in 16 months.

What, if any, impact will the speech have on the campaign? Probably not as much as it should. It was delivered in the morning, to a minuscule television audience. It deserved a full hearing, but most Americans heard it in sound bites and from headlines—and I imagine that for more than a few, the headline will be OBAMA REFUSES TO DISOWN HIS ANTI-AMERICAN PASTOR. This is where inexperience really hurts—not Obama's inexperience but the public's inexperience with him. For many Americans, the Wright flap is the third thing they've learned about Obama. The first two were that he is black and has a "funny" name. All too many voters don't get beyond first impressions, but it's not impossible. In 1992 the first thing most Americans learned about Bill Clinton was

that he'd been shagging a lounge singer named Gennifer Flowers. The second was that he'd avoided the military draft during Vietnam. But Clinton—a politician as extraordinary as Obama—managed to survive and, intermittently, prosper.

Whether Obama survives now will depend on the most important and overlooked part of his speech—the final section, in which he challenged the public and, especially, the media to stow the sensationalism: "We can play Reverend Wright's sermons on every channel, every day... and make the only question in this campaign whether or not the American people think that I somehow believe or sympathize with his most offensive words," he said. "But if we do, I can tell you that in the next election we'll be talking about some other distraction... And nothing will change... Or, at this moment in this election, we can come together and say, 'Not this time.'"

And that is the existential challenge of 2008: whether we will have a big election or a small one. Will we have a serious conversation about the enormous problems confronting the country—the wars, the economic crisis, the looming environmental cataclysm—or will we allow the same old carnival of swift bolts and sound bites? The answer depends on the candidates, of course, and on the media—where cynicism too often passes for insight. But most of all, it depends on you. ■

The Bear Trap

A collapsing Wall Street bank has to be sold off by the Fed. Why we are facing the biggest money crisis since the Depression

BY JUSTIN FOX

IT WAS, NO QUESTION, ONE OF THE most dramatic episodes in American financial history. A famously scrappy Wall Street investment bank, Bear Stearns, went from seemingly healthy to dead meat in about five days. Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke, desperate to avoid a sudden collapse that might cause a full-fledged market panic, invoked a little-known 1930s legal provision to engineer a Sunday fire sale of Bear Stearns to banking giant JPMorgan Chase for a mere \$2 a share. (Bear's stock price was \$57 a week before, \$171.51 in early 2007.)

With Bear shareholders virtually wiped out, half the firm's employees slated to lose their jobs and no golden parachutes offered to the top executives, it wasn't a bailout. But it did take a \$30 billion loan from the Fed to seal the deal. This was a truly extraordinary use of the central bank's powers and an indication that the subprime-mortgage crisis that erupted last summer has evolved into something bigger and more ominous—possibly the greatest challenge to the American way of financial capitalism since the Depression.

The immediate market reaction to the deal—and to the three-quarter point interest-rate cut announced by the Fed two

THE NUMBERS

\$19 billion

The decrease in Bear Stearns' market value from January 2007 until JPMorgan Chase agreed to buy the company for \$2 a share. The stock fell 98.3% from its \$171.51 high

5.82%

Percentage of U.S. residential mortgages past due in the fourth quarter of 2007: it was 4.31% in early '05

6

Number of times the Fed has reduced the benchmark interest rate—now 2.25%—since last September

The chairman Bernanke feared that if Bear went under, the financial markets would unravel



days later—was positive. Stocks rose nearly 4%; credit markets calmed a bit; the global financial system lived to fret another day. And fret it surely will, for the troubles that mauled Bear are far from over.

What Went Wrong

THE TROUBLES BEGAN, AS YOU'VE ALREADY heard a thousand times, with the boom earlier this decade in subprime mortgages, unconventional home loans sold to people with dodgy credit or with incomes that just weren't big enough to buy the house they wanted. In what you might call a virtuous circle—except that far more greed than virtue was at work—lower lending standards helped fuel an unprecedented rise in house prices, and those rising prices meant borrowers could refinance their way out of any trouble they had making payments.

The speculative bubble in housing reached its peak in the summer of 2006. As of last December, house prices were down 10.2% from that peak, according to the S&P/Case-Shiller National Home Price Index, and are still falling. Defaults are way up, and with the collateral behind even formerly sound home loans losing value by the day, defaults will surely keep rising.

This is what you call a bad-debt problem. The U.S. banking system had a couple of big bad-debt problems in the 1980s (remember S&Ls? Latin-American debt?) and slowly, grindingly, expensively worked its way through them. But now most mortgages aren't sitting on the books of the lenders who made them. Instead they've been chopped up and combined into securities—with values contrived by complex mathematical models—and sold to banks, pension funds and other investors around the world. This securitization was supposed to spread risks more widely and more efficiently.

But a decade and a half of good times in real estate seemed to lull many buyers of this paper into ignoring risk completely. Ever since investors began discovering to their horror early last year that it is in fact possible to lose money on mortgages, the market for mortgage securities has been gripped by distrust and disagreement. That distrust has since spread to other investments previously advertised as virtually risk-free: insured bonds, auction-rate municipal bonds and the structured investment vehicles (SIVs) that banks used to get ugly stuff off their balance sheets.

Nevertheless, all those mortgages that started the problem are still worth something. House prices are headed downward, but they're not headed to zero. What turned a simple price decline into a crisis that killed Bear Stearns was the way many financial firms (hedge funds and invest-



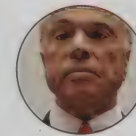
Alan Greenspan

The king of easy money and little oversight kept the economy greased with low interest rates, but now the former Fed chairman is answerable for having made lending too available, especially to people who really couldn't afford to borrow.



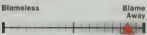
Angelo Mozilo

Enabling home ownership seems so noble—until lending standards surrender to greed. Under CEO Mozilo, marquee mortgage shop Countrywide helped legitimize the flood of subprime, teaser-rate and no-income-verification loans.



President Bush

Belief in free markets is absolete in the Administration. Regulation of financial firms, a mishmash to begin with, was essentially hands off at a time when megamoney was sloshing around new places, like overleveraged hedge funds.



Wheel of Blame

One of the beautiful things about markets is how they link people. But that also makes it tricky to figure out who causes the messes—like when assets turn out to be worth far less than advertised, credit markets seize up and panic ensues. Ideology colors any attempt to point fingers—Does regulation protect people or stifle innovation? Do companies manipulate consumers, or do individuals make decisions?—but that won't stop us from trying. There's plenty of blame to go around.

—BY BARBARA KIVIAT

James Cayne

Traders like Bear Stearns, led by ex-CEO Cayne, loaded their balance sheets with assets of untested value. When forced to calculate true worth, write-downs followed. Wary firms stopped lending to each other, causing a liquidity crunch.



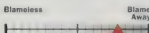
ment banks, especially) generate their profits: by making bets with borrowed money. To borrow that money, they have to put up collateral—for example, mortgage securities. Later, many firms have been simultaneously beset by bets gone bad and skittish lenders' calling in loans or demanding more collateral.

Several big hedge funds had already been driven out of business by such lender squeezes, starting last summer with two mortgage funds run by Bear Stearns. But

Bear itself still turned a small profit in 2007. As late as the first week of March this year, there was no reason to think it was in imminent danger. Then rumors began flying that it was. Lenders refused to lend, clients refused to trade, and suddenly Bear was out of money. It was a bank run, more or less. And the scary thing was that there is no entirely satisfactory explanation for why it hit Bear. One may emerge as JPMorgan Chase's bean counters dig through the books, and some have

Wall Street Wizards

Financial engineers sliced, packaged and sold subprime-mortgage securities for yield-hungry investors on the premise—reinforced by yes-men ratings agencies—that these were oh-so-safe AAA bonds. Oops.



Home Buyers

You can't lose money in real estate. We fell for that. It may ring heartless to blame home owners facing foreclosure, but people living real estate dreams beyond their means provided dealmakers with plenty of fuel for the fire.



fingered rumor-mongering short sellers who stood to gain as the stock dropped, but for now it mainly looks like just a sudden crisis of confidence. Which could conceivably happen to anybody. "It's a good old-time panic," says Scott MacDonald, co-author of *Separating Fools from Their Money: A History of American Financial Scandals* and director of research at Aladdin Capital, a fixed-income investment manager in Stamford, Conn. "We haven't had one in a while."

Can the Fed Fix Things?

THE GREATEST POWER OF THE FED IS THAT it can create dollars at will. It gets those dollars into the economy by buying Treasury securities on the open market. When you hear the Fed is cutting rates, that usually means it's ordering the traders at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to start buying, and that drives short-term Treasury rates down.

Economist Milton Friedman argued—and eventually convinced most of his colleagues—that it was the Fed's failure to keep enough dollars in circulation that made the Great Depression such a great disaster. No Federal Reserve chairman will ever let that happen again, so we probably shouldn't worry too much about bread lines and Hoovervilles in the near future. But the money supply is a blunt instrument, one that comes nowhere near addressing all of today's problems. "The issue is not one of liquidity but one of solvency," says Richard McGuire, a strategist at RBC Capital Markets in London. "It's not the cost of money but the unwillingness of banks to lend to one another owing to uncertainties...that is the root of the credit crunch." That is, the Fed can drive down interest rates all it wants, but if lenders are charging their clients and one another much higher rates or are refusing to lend at all, you've still got a credit squeeze.

Bernanke, himself an authority on the Depression, has been pushing ever more creative and aggressive means to avoid this, mostly by lending cash or Treasuries in exchange for mortgage securities. The Fed persuaded JPMorgan Chase to buy Bear Stearns in part by agreeing to lend \$30 billion against hard-to-sell mortgage securities on Bear's books.

The general feeling in Washington seems to be that the Bear deal "threads the needle in the right way," as Democratic Senator Charles Schumer put it. But if Fed-arranged fire sales become a regular event, questions will inevitably arise about moral hazard and playing favorites. "They stepped into a vacuum, and I think quite appropriately," former Fed chairman Paul Volcker said on *Charlie Rose*. "But is this what you want for the long-standing regulatory support system? My answer is no."

Volcker and many other observers argue that if a mass-scale financial bailout is needed, it's the White House and Congress that must commit the resources. So far, the main movement in that direction is a proposal from Democrats Barney Frank in the House and Chris Dodd in the Senate to get the Federal Housing Administration to insure new loans for home owners facing foreclosure. But Congress could decide to take over and clean up every troubled financial institution in the land if things

got bad enough. That would cost trillions, though, and still won't mean much if it's, say, a Swiss bank in big trouble.

There's also the question of revamping the inconsistent patchwork of regulations that enabled much of the madness in securitized mortgages. "It doesn't take long for the investment banks to find a nonregulatory place to fester in the dark," says Wall Street historian and Manhattan College finance professor Charles Geisst.

So Where Does That Leave You?

IF YOU WORK ON WALL STREET OR IN REAL estate, you're already feeling the credit squeeze. The same is true if you have a reset mortgage you can no longer afford or if you just want to sell your house, especially if you live where prices are truly crashing, like San Diego or Miami.

'The best-case scenario is a mild recession and a slow recovery. That's the best outcome we can hope for.'

—KENNETH ROGOFF, HARVARD ECONOMICS PROFESSOR

For the rest of us, though, bad times are still just headlines. Most economists now think we're in a recession, but so far, it's a mild one, with unemployment at 4.8% and nonfinancial corporations still reporting strong profits. Stock prices are down, but not nearly as much as in 2001 and 2002.

Don't get too comfortable. "The best-case scenario is a mild recession and a slow recovery with mildly elevated inflation," says Harvard professor Kenneth Rogoff, a former chief economist at the International Monetary Fund. "That's the best outcome we can hope for at this point." Rogoff is a co-author, with the University of Maryland's Carmen Reinhart, of a much discussed new paper that surveys the five worst rich-country financial crises since World War II, and he finds alarming parallels to the current U.S. situation. Those crises all brought economic downturns that, while much milder than the Great Depression, were worse than anything the U.S. has experienced since. In other words, this could get ugly. —WITH REPORTING BY BARBARA KIVIAI/NEW YORK, MICHAEL SCHUMAN/HONG KONG AND ADAM SMITH/LONDON ■

Fox appears on the miniseries Retirement Revolution airing on most PBS stations on March 31 and April 7. Check local listings.

A Voter's Guide to the Economy.

With a recession looming, it's Issue No. 1 for the candidates. What will they do to turn things around?

BY KRISTINA DELL AND ALEXANDRA SILVER

RECORD HOME FORECLOSURES and a worsening credit crunch have voters looking for help. The economy is near the top of every campaign agenda, even though none of the candidates have ever balanced a state budget or run a company. No President can magically fix what ails this economy, but White House policies—on taxing and spending, trade and regulation—will set the stage for recovery. Here's where the candidates stand on five key issues:

DEMOCRAT

Hillary Clinton



'I would take immediate, comprehensive action to fix the housing crisis.'

Calls for a \$30 billion emergency fund to help states combat the foreclosure mess; gives lenders new incentives to restructure mortgages

DEMOCRAT

Barack Obama



'I would enact my mortgage agenda to ensure that families can stay in their homes.'

His proposal would give lenders incentives to buy or refinance existing adjustable-rate mortgages and convert them to 30-year fixed ones

REPUBLICAN

John McCain



'Eliminate the AMT, which the middle class was never intended to pay.'

McCain wants to end the alternative minimum tax, which hit approximately 4 million taxpayers in 2006, up from 414,000 in 1995

NAFTA

Should the trade pact be modified to add environmental and labor protections?

Yes

She says these protections should be enforced just like those dealing with commerce

Yes

A leaked memo implied his stance was "political maneuvering"; Obama denies the claim

No

Says open markets create economic opportunity

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Payrolls shrank by 63,000 in February. Should the jobless get more time on assistance?

Yes

Her stimulus plan would include \$10 billion to extend unemployment insurance

Yes

Would add some part-timers and give a temporary extension to those who have used up eligibility

No

Favors a total overhaul of unemployment insurance instead, using the funds for retraining

HEDGE FUNDS

As the financial crisis deepens, should hedge funds be more closely regulated?

No

But wants to "reassess our regulatory framework" and close a loophole for offshore tax havens

No

But calls for more transparency in the entire financial industry

No

Says existing laws are enough to improve transparency and accountability on Wall Street

BUSH TAX CUTS

Should the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts be rolled back for families making more than \$250,000?

Yes

Would use these funds to offer new health- and child-care tax credits

Yes

He would instead provide a \$1,000 income tax credit for families to offset payroll taxes

No

Wants to make the tax cuts permanent

MORTGAGE HELP

The government is bailing out banks. Should it rescue home owners facing default?

Yes


Favors a 90-day halt on subprime foreclosures and a five-year freeze on subprime interest rates

Yes

Would help people refinance, using a \$10 billion fund from stiffer fines on fraudulent lenders

Maybe

Would help those who were bailed but not others who can't afford their mortgages



When teens want to get high **YOUR PRESCRIPTION IS AVAILABLE FOR PICK UP.**

TEENS ARE ABUSING PRESCRIPTION DRUGS THEY FIND AT HOME.
HERE'S WHAT THEY ARE DOING—AND HOW PARENTS CAN STOP IT.

It can be medication left over from your last surgery. Maybe they're the pills you keep on the dresser or tucked inside your purse. Teens are finding prescription drugs wherever people they know keep them—and abusing them to get high. In fact, 70 percent of persons age 12 and older who abuse prescription painkillers say they get them from a relative or friend¹—leading to several troubling trends:

- **Every day, 2500 kids age 12 to 17 try a painkiller for the first time.²**
- **Prescription drugs are the drugs of choice for 12 and 13 year olds.¹**
- **Teens abuse prescription drugs more than any illicit street drug except marijuana.¹**

What's also disturbing is they don't realize these drugs can be as dangerous as street drugs. So kids who would never try street drugs might feel safe abusing prescription drugs. Misperceptions about prescription drug abuse have serious consequences. In fact, drug treatment admissions for prescription painkillers increased more than 300 percent from 1995 to 2005.³ Now that you know prescription drug abuse is a problem, here are ways parents can keep it from affecting their kids' lives:

- **Safeguard** all drugs at home. Monitor quantities and control access.
- **Set clear rules** for teens about all drug use, including not sharing medicine and always following the medical provider's advice and dosages.
- **Be a good role model** by following the same rules with your own medicines.
- **Properly conceal and dispose** of old or unused medicines in the trash.
- **Ask friends and family** to safeguard their prescription drugs as well.

Following these steps is a start. Let your teen know where you stand.

When you talk about drugs and alcohol, include prescription drugs in the conversation.

To learn more, visit **THEANTIDRUG.COM** or call 1-800-788-2800.

- American Academy of Family Physicians
- American Academy of Nurse Practitioners
- American Academy of Pediatrics
- American Academy of Physician Assistants
- American College of Emergency Physicians
- American Dental Association

- American Medical Association
- American Pharmacists Association
- American Society of Addiction Medicine
- National Association of School Nurses
- Partnership for a Drug Free America

1. 2006 National Survey on Drug Use and Health. SAMHSA, September 2007

2. Ibid. 3. Ibid. 4. Ibid. 5. 2005 Treatment Episode Data Set. SAMHSA, 2007





CAMPAIGN '08

Why Obama Has a Pastor Problem

The candidate's own critical, questioning road to faith also led him straight to a controversial mentor

BY JAMES CARNEY AND AMY SULLIVAN

LONG BEFORE THE SERMONS OF THE Rev. Jeremiah Wright became instant hits on YouTube and talk-show fodder for the cable news channels, Barack Obama knew he had a preacher problem. On the eve of launching his campaign for the White House in February 2007, Obama abruptly withdrew an invitation to Wright to deliver the invocation at his announcement speech in Springfield, Ill. Wright had been Obama's pastor for nearly 20 years. He had brought Obama into the church, helped him find his faith in God, officiated at Obama's wedding and baptized both his children. But Wright had also said a lot of incendiary things from his pulpit about America over the years, things that would be awkward to explain away for a politician hoping to unite the country and become the first African-American President of the United States.

For a year, Obama didn't have to explain his relationship with Wright; he didn't even have to deliver a speech outlining his views on race relations. After all, one of the animating forces behind Obama's campaign was the notion that he, and we, had somehow transcended the old racial divisions in America, that he wasn't "the black candidate" for President but a presidential candidate whose race was only part of his much broader appeal. Then on March 13, video clips emerged of Wright in earlier sermons, shouting "God damn America!" and calling 9/11 a case of "America's chickens... coming home to roost." It became a

Call for unity In Philadelphia Obama called for blacks and whites to move beyond the "racial stalemate"



Looking up Two young supporters wait to meet Obama in Columbia, S.C.

story that threatened to capsize Obama's front-running campaign with the speed of a Wall Street bankruptcy. Obama issued a statement denouncing Wright's comments but soon realized he had to do more. And so he ordered his staff to make arrangements for him to give the speech—the speech he'd been turning over in his mind for much of his adult life. “There wasn’t a discussion,” says spokesman Robert Gibbs. “He made a decision.” Obama went home to Chicago that night, and after his wife and two daughters were asleep, he started composing.

The speech he delivered at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia was an artfully reasoned treatise on race and rancor in America, the most memorable speech delivered by any candidate in this campaign and one that has earned Obama

‘If you’re black and you’re trying to get ahead in politics, you’re not going to join Trinity.’

—DWIGHT HOPKINS, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO DIVINITY SCHOOL

comparisons to Lincoln, Kennedy and King. But that doesn’t mean it will succeed in its more prosaic mission of appealing to voters who have their doubts about Obama and his preacher. It left unanswered a crucial question: What attracted Obama to Wright in the first place?

The Preacher and the Pol

WHEN OBAMA JOINED CHICAGO’S TRINITY United Church of Christ in 1988, the Afrocentric church and its pastor held particular appeal to a 27-year-old son of an African father he barely knew and a white mother from Kansas. Obama was searching for an identity and a community, and he found both at Trinity. And he found a spiritual guide in Wright.

Much of white America is unfamiliar with the milieu of the black church. When clips from Wright’s sermons began circulating, many whites heard divisive, angry, unpatriotic pronouncements on race, class and country. Many blacks, on the other hand, heard something more familiar: righteous anger about oppression and deliberate hyperbole in laying blame, which

separating individual salvation from collective salvation," he writes in *The Audacity of Hope*. It also matched his intellectual curiosity. "Perhaps it was out of this ... grounding of faith in struggle that the historically black church offered me a second insight: that faith doesn't mean that you don't have doubts."

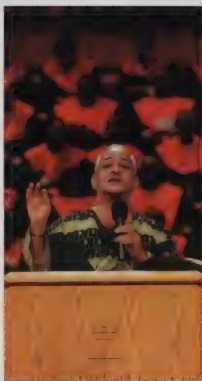
That desire for a more challenging faith helps explain the appeal of Trinity, despite its potential for controversy. The church, which has ministered to poor South Side families and Oprah Winfrey alike, isn't fringe, but neither is it a likely home for someone plotting a political career in Chicago. "If you're black and you're trying to get ahead in politics, you're not going to join Trinity," says Dwight Hopkins, a Trinity member who is also a professor at U. of C.'s Divinity School. "Not because it's radical—it isn't radical in its context. But it would be safer to join a North Side ecumenical church—the sort of place where people are quiet. They stand up, sit down, listen and leave."

As Obama's political career blossomed, he could have quietly left Trinity for one of those more staid black churches, but he chose to stay. In his speech, he said he disagreed with Wright strongly, and yet he didn't leave the church (or even criticize his pastor until Wright's sermons became a campaign issue). He didn't explain why he stayed, but by trying to show black and white resentment as the backdrop for Wright's comments, Obama suggested that his response to controversy isn't to walk out of the room but to try to understand what's fueling the fire. He also drew a distinction between political advice and spiritual guidance, arguing that many Americans know what it's like to disagree with something their pastor or priest or rabbi says.

By asking voters to understand the context of Wright's anger, though, Obama is counting on voters to accept nuance in an arena that almost always rewards simplicity over complexity. Politicians tend to offer deliberately banal choices: Either we move forward or we fall backward, either we let the economy falter or we help it grow, either we succumb to our enemies or we defeat them—the choice is up to you, America! Obama's formulation was different. Explicitly asking Americans to grapple with racial divisions and then transcend them—that's a bolder, riskier request.

After he delivered his speech, Obama found his wife Michelle backstage. She was weeping. He shared a quiet, emotional moment with her. Then Obama was all business again. "What's next?" he asked, as if anyone knew the answer.

—WITH REPORTING BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL/
WASHINGTON AND LORI REESE/CHICAGO



What Did the Reverend Say?

The sermons of the Rev. Jeremiah Wright (above) at the Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago have produced some provocative sound bites:

About 9/11 "We bombed Hiroshima, we bombed Nagasaki, and we nuked far more than the thousands in New York and the Pentagon, and we never batted an eye. We have supported state terrorism against the Palestinians and black South Africans, and now we are indignant because the stuff we have done overseas is now brought right back to our own front yards. America's chickens are coming home to roost."

Sept. 16, 2001

About patriotism and race "The government ... wants us to sing God Bless America. No, no, no. God damn America; that's in the Bible, for killing innocent people. God damn America for treating our citizens as less than human." **2003**

About the Clintons "Hillary is married to Bill, and Bill has been good to us. No, he ain't! Bill did us, just like he did Monica Lewinsky. He was riding dirty." **Jan. 13, 2008**

About the U.S. "The United States of White America." **July 22, 2007**

are common in sermons delivered in black churches every Sunday. The Rev. Terri Owens, dean of students at the University of Chicago Divinity School, says the black church tradition has its roots in the era of slavery, when African Americans held services under trees, far from their white masters. "Churches have always been the place where black people could speak freely," she says. "They were the only institutions they could own and run by themselves."

In his books, Obama says he might not have become a Christian—his mother was a skeptical secularist and his absent father an atheist—if not for the special character of the black church. "Out of necessity, the black church had to minister to the whole person. Out of necessity, the black church rarely had the luxury of

Chainsaw Diplomacy

The Iraq war has spelled the end for muscular moralism in U.S. foreign policy. Here's what should replace it

WHEN AMERICA INVADIED IRAQ FIVE years ago, most of the people who set American foreign policy believed two things. First, they believed that the U.S. military could not lose. From Panama to Kosovo, the Gulf War to Afghanistan, America had been on a wartime winning streak since the late 1980s. Our defeat in Vietnam seemed about as relevant as the War of 1812. Second, the policy makers believed that people in Iraq wanted us to win. Hadn't the Poles and Czechs celebrated when we defeated the Soviets? Hadn't Afghans cheered the overthrow of the Taliban? Swirling in the air in the spring of 2003 was an intoxicating blend of militarism and moralism. Our troops would destroy Saddam, and Iraqi gratitude would take care of the rest.

Five years later, that combination has blown apart. John McCain is open to bombing Iran, but he doesn't claim the Iranians will thank us for it. Barack Obama wants to restore America's good name, but not with the 82nd Airborne. For the most part, militarists and moralists now occupy separate camps. In the coming years, America will try to export its values and may well use military force. But it won't try to do both at the same time.

In many ways, this is what happened after Vietnam. Underlying that war were the beliefs that the communists in North Vietnam couldn't withstand our military

might and that the noncommunists in South Vietnam wanted to be saved. The war shattered both assumptions. On the left, Jimmy Carter responded by making human rights the centerpiece of his foreign policy: America would stand up for liberty—but not militarily. Conservatives insisted that had we used more military force in Vietnam, we would have won.



But as the world turned increasingly anti-American, they abandoned the conceit that when we took up arms, other nations would cheer.

This gulf between moralism and militarism narrowed in the 1980s and '90s. Under Ronald Reagan, conservatives grew more optimistic about exporting American values as they saw democracy spread in the Third World. And under Bill Clinton, liberals became more warlike, backing humanitarian interventions in Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo.

Today, however, it's the '70s all over again. Republicans still assume that force—or at least the credible threat of it—is all that regimes like Iran's understand. But you don't hear many conservatives echoing the grand Wilsonianism of Bush's Second Inaugural, in which he

claimed that "America's vital interests and our deepest beliefs are now one." The fastest-growing species on the foreign-policy right is what *National Review* editor Rich Lowry calls "to hell with them" hawks: conservatives who don't care how non-Americans run their societies as long as they don't threaten us in the process.

Among Democrats, hawkishness is out of fashion, but humanitarianism remains strong. In a *Foreign Affairs* article last summer, Obama argued that many around the world associate Bush's freedom talk with "war, torture and forcibly imposed regime change." His answer: help freedom's march with money, not arms.

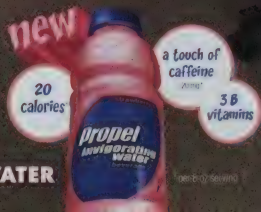
That makes sense. Moralism and military force are both necessary to U.S. foreign policy, but the former shouldn't ride the latter into battle. The U.S. military can help stop ethnic cleansing, as it did in Bosnia and Kosovo, or safeguard the world's oil supplies, as it did in the first Gulf War, but it's not designed to build democracy. You can't do open-heart surgery with a chainsaw.

Building decent, liberal societies requires strengthening parts of the U.S. government that don't carry guns. While our military patrols the world, our embassies increasingly cower behind barbed wire, disconnected from the societies they need to understand and help. America doesn't need to abandon the fervor that five years ago helped propel us into a disastrous war; we need to redirect it. Muscular moralism has had its day. The test now is whether we can effectively separate the two—carrying a big stick for self defense but using less blunt instruments to improve the world.

TIME columnist Beinart is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations


Militarists and moralists now occupy separate camps. America will still try to export its values, and it may well use military force. But it won't try to do both at the same time

**AN OVERLY CAFFEINATED WORLD
DESERVES A SENSIBLY CAFFEINATED WATER.**



PROPEL INVIGORATING WATER

© 2007 Seagram



A Monk's Struggle

As China cracks down in Tibet, the Dalai Lama faces his greatest challenge since going into exile 49 years ago. Can his message of peace bring his people freedom?

BY PICO IYER

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY
JAMES NACHTWEY—VII

In his morning ritual, the Dalai Lama prays before a Buddha statue at his Dharamsala residence





At attention The Indian military protects the Dalai Lama. Armed soldiers salute each time he passes, even on the short walk from his home to the office

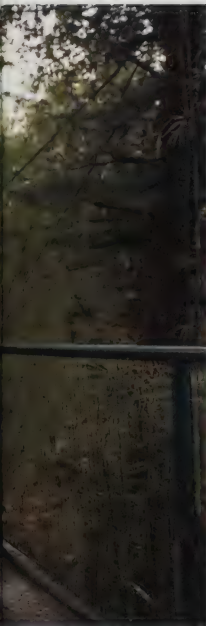
SINCE CHINA WANTS TO JOIN the world community," the 14th Dalai Lama said as I was traveling across Japan with him for a week last November, "the world community has a real responsibility to bring China into the mainstream." The whole world stands to gain, he pointed out, from a peaceful and unified China—not least the 6 million Tibetans in China and Chinese-occupied Tibet. "But," he added, "genuine harmony must come from the heart. It cannot come from the barrel of a gun."

I thought of those measured and forgiving words—the Dalai Lama still prays for his "Chinese brothers and sisters" ev-

ery morning and urges Tibetans to learn Chinese so they can talk with their new rulers, not fight with them—as reports trickled out of Tibet of freedom demonstrations that have led to some of the bloodiest confrontations in the region since similar protests preceded a brutal crackdown in the late 1980s. The violence has left 99 people dead, according to Tibetan exile groups; the Chinese government says 13 "innocents" were killed in the riots. Soon after monks began demonstrating in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa, Chinese forces moved to contain the marchers, but the disturbances spread to other Tibetan cities, and their causes clearly remain unresolved. Working out how best to avoid

further embarrassment as they prepare for the start of the Olympic torch relay on March 25 will be a tricky challenge for China's rulers. As a diplomat told *TIME*, "They need to get this under control, but to do so without a lot of brutality."

How the crisis unfolds will be determined not just in Beijing but also by the words and actions of a man who protects his people from afar, in his exile home in the northern-India hill station of Dharamsala. As a Buddhist monk, the Dalai Lama speaks unstintingly on behalf of all people's rights to basic freedoms of speech and thought—though as a Buddhist monk, he also holds staunchly to the view that violence can never solve a problem deep down.



Civil disobedience Tibetan Buddhist monks and refugees hold a peace march in India on March 8 to mark the anniversary of China's 1950 push into Tibet

to are *investigate, analyze and explore*. The Buddha was a "scientist," he said the last time I saw him, which means that a true Buddhist should follow the course of reason (recalling, perhaps, that anger most harms the person who feels it). Contact and communication are the methods he always stresses—to this day, he encourages every possibility for dialogue with China and in places even urges Tibetans to study Buddhism under Chinese leaders whom he knows to be capable.

This determination to be completely empirical—as if he were a doctor of the mind pledged to examine things only as they are, to come up with a clear diagnosis and then to suggest a practical response—is one of the things that have made the current Dalai Lama such a startling and tonic figure on the world stage. There are few monks in any tradition who speak so rarely about faith while rejecting anything that has been disproved by scientific inquiry; on his desk at home, he keeps a plastic model of the brain with detachable parts so that he can take it apart, put it together again and see how it works. And there are even fewer political leaders who work from the selfless positions and long-term vision of a monk (and doctor of philosophy). It's easy to forget that the Dalai Lama is by now the most seasoned ruler on the planet, having led his people for 68 years—longer than Queen Elizabeth II, King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand or even Fidel Castro.

This all has deep and wide implications for a world that seems as religiously polarized now as it has ever been. Always stressing that the Buddha's own words should be thrown out if they are shown by scientific

inquiry to be flawed, the Dalai Lama is the rare religious figure who tells people not to get needlessly confused or distracted by religion ("Even without a religion, we can become a good human being"). No believer in absolute truth—he eagerly seeks out Catholics, neuroscientists, even regular travelers to Tibet who can instruct him—he is also the rare Tibetan who will suggest that old Tibet may have contributed in part to its current predicament, the rare Buddhist to tell foreigners not to take up Buddhism but to study within their own traditions, where their roots are deepest.

As the world prepares for the Olympic Games in Beijing this August—and as Tibetans (and those in other occupied areas across China, like Xinjiang) inevitably use the world's attention to broadcast their suffering—a farmer's son born in a stone-and-mud house in a 20-home village in one of the world's least materially developed countries has, rather remarkably, become one of the leading spokesmen for a new global vision in which we look past divisions of nation, race and religion and try to address our shared problems at the source. Acts of terrorism, he said when I saw him in November, usually arise from some cause deep in the past and will not go away until the root problem is addressed. He could as easily have been talking about the demonstrations of discontent being staged in his homeland nearly a half-century since he saw it last.

The Scientist

I HAVE BEEN VISITING THE DALAI LAMA IN Dharamsala regularly since 1974 and have been listening to him speak to psycholo-

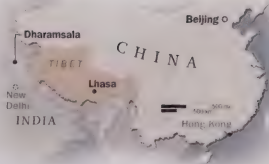
If the bloodshed gets out of control, he said in recent days, he will step down as political leader—a symbolic act, really, since he would continue to be the head of the Tibetans and the democracy he has set up in exile already has an elected Prime Minister. In China meanwhile, Tibetans are still liable to imprisonment for years just for carrying a picture of their exiled leader (who by Tibetan custom is regarded as the incarnation of a god, the god of compassion). Some have been shot while walking across the mountains to visit cousins or children in exile.

As soon as you start talking to the Dalai Lama, as I have been doing for 33 years, you notice that his favorite adjectives are *logical* and *realistic* and the verbs he returns

Culture Clash

These images show how Chinese money and influence are transforming everyday life in Tibet's capital city of Lhasa

Photographs by
Kadir van Lohuizen—Noor



Lhasa's newest cultural centers
A monk passes a newly built shopping center near the historic Potala Palace, emblematic of the growing influence of Chinese commerce in the heart of the Tibetan capital



gists, non-Buddhist priests and philosophers—from Harvard to Hiroshima and Zurich to Malibu—since 1979. I'm not a Buddhist myself, only a typically skeptical journalist whose father, a professional philosopher, happened to meet the Dalai Lama in 1960, the year after he went into exile. But having spent time watching wars and revolutions everywhere from Sri Lanka to Beirut, I've grown intrigued by the quietly revolutionary ideas that the Dalai Lama has put into play. China and Tibet will long be

geographic neighbors, he implies, so for Tibetans to think of the Chinese as their enemies—or vice versa—is to say they will long be surrounded by enemies. Better by far to expunge the notion of “enmities” that the mind has created.

Among fellow Buddhists, the Dalai Lama delivers complex, analytical talks and wrestles with doctrinal issues within a philosophy that can be just as divided as anything in Christianity or Islam, but he has decided after analytical research that when he finds himself out in the wider world talking to large audiences of people with no interest in Buddhism, the most

practical course is just to offer, as a doctor would, simple, everyday principles that anyone, regardless of religion (or lack of same), might find helpful. Since material wealth cannot help us if we're heartbroken, he often says, and yet those who are strong within can survive even material hardship (as many monks in Tibet have had tragic occasion to prove), it makes more sense to concentrate on our inner, not our outer, resources. We in the privileged world spend so much time strengthening and working on our bodies, perhaps we could also use some time training what lies beneath them, at



The world at their fingertips

A plethora of Internet cafés are now open at all hours in Lhasa. Tibet's youth flock to the hot spots to play video games, chat with friends—and get instant access to the rest of the globe

The Vegas of the East

A Tibetan singer performs at one of Lhasa's many nightclubs. Dozens of dance halls and brothels have cluttered the streets as tourists and migrants flood the city



the source of our well being: the mind.

His own people, inevitably, have not always been able to live according to these lucid precepts, and if you walk along the crowded, gritty streets of Dharamsala, you find as many Tibetans looking to the West for salvation as you find Westerners looking to Tibet. Melancholy signs in the Tibetan government-in-exile compound say TIBETAN TORTURE SURVIVORS' PROGRAM and VOICE OF TIBET (VOICE FOR THE VOICELESS), and many young Tibetans feel they have spent all their lives dreaming of a country they've never seen. In Tibet, meanwhile, I remember—visiting

in 1990, when the shadow of martial law hung over the capital—seeing soldiers on the rooftops of the low buildings around the central Jokhang Temple and tanks stationed just outside the city limits.

Yet the larger sense of identity being proposed by the Dalai Lama—and many others from every tradition—has special relevance today because, as the Tibetan leader likes to say, we are living in a “new reality” in which “the concept of ‘we’ and ‘they’ is gone.” And if the terrorist attacks and wars of the new millennium have made some people on every continent wary and skeptical of religion, they have



Eye on Tibet

To see more images from James Nachtwey's visit with the Dalai Lama, go to time.com/dalailama

For more of Kadir van Lohuizen's images of the restive region in flux, go to time.com/tibet

also made them ache, more palpably than ever, for precisely the sense of moral guidance and solace that religions traditionally provide.

Exile and Opportunity

WHAT COULD BE CALLED A GLOBAL MOVEMENT on behalf of post-identity thinking seems one of the brightest hopes of our new world order and one often advanced by such close friends and admirers of the Dalai Lama as Vaclav Havel and Desmond Tutu. Yet what has made the Dalai Lama's example particularly striking—and what was perhaps partly responsible for his receiving the 1989 Nobel Prize for Peace—is that he has had to live these principles and put them to the test during almost every hour of his 72 years. He came to the throne

more closely than many journalists do and cheerfully confessed to me more than a decade ago that he is “addicted” to the BBC World Service broadcast every morning. When he speaks around the world, one of his favorite lines is “Dream—nothing!” or some other expression to stress that instead of looking outside ourselves for help or inspiration, we should act right now because “responsibility for our future lies on our own shoulders.”

This makes for a novel way of practicing the art of politics—one inspired, you could say, by the prince called the Buddha more than by the one described by Machiavelli. The central principle of Buddhism is the idea of interdependence—the notion that all sentient beings are linked together in a network that was classically known as

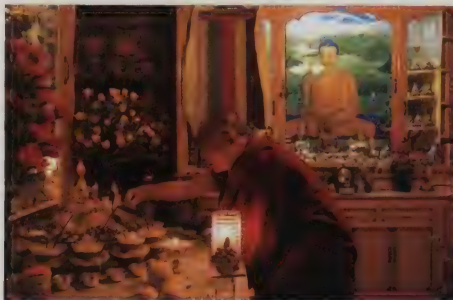
Dalai Lama has decided that exile is his reality and therefore should be taken as opportunity. Almost as soon as he left Tibet in 1959, he started to draw up a new democratic constitution for Tibetans, allowing for the possibility of impeaching the Dalai Lama. He threw out much that he regarded as outdated or needlessly ritualistic in the Tibetan system while gradually bringing in reforms so that women are now allowed to study for doctoral degrees and become abbots (which they could not do in old Tibet) and science is part of the monastic curriculum. Tibetan children in exile take their lessons in Tibetan until they are 10 or so—to make sure they are strongly rooted in their own tradition—and then in English ever after (so as to be connected to the modern world).

This has made the Tibetan exile community one of the success stories among refugee groups in recent decades. But no less important, perhaps, it has offered a possibility to many others on a planet where there are, by some counts, as many as 33 million official and unofficial refugees. By showing how Tibet can exist internally, in spirit and imagination, even if it is barely visible on the map, the Dalai Lama has been suggesting to Palestinians, Kurds and Uighurs that they can maintain a cultural community even if they have lost their territory. Communities can be linked not by common soil so much as by common ground, a common foundation.

Challenging China

YET EVEN AS THE DALAI LAMA HAS MANAGED to make all these breakthroughs in the exile world, in Tibet itself he has made little visible progress over the past 50 years. Every Tibetan I've met remains immovably devoted to him. And yet, as he said to me 12 years ago, “in spite of my open approach of maximum concessions, the Chinese position becomes even harder and harder.” The violence that broke out recently was a harrowing reminder of the fact that 98% of Tibetans have no access to their leader and are denied the most basic of freedoms. And in return for talking of interdependence and the need to stop even thinking in terms of enemies, the Dalai Lama is known in Beijing as a “splittist” and the “enemy of the Tibetan people.”

Indeed, his very determination to speak for openness and a long-term vision has sometimes brought him critics on every side. Some conservative Tibetan clerics believe he has been too radical in jettisoning old Tibetan customs, while some Western Buddhists, graduates of the revolutions of the '60s, wish he did not speak out against divorce or sexual license. True to his Bud-



The flame keeper In his private residence, the Dalai Lama tends to a shrine honoring the Buddha. He dismisses Buddhist teachings if disproved by science

in Lhasa, after all, when he was only 4 years old, and he was receiving envoys from F.D.R. with intricate questions about the transportation of military supplies across Tibet during World War II when he was just 7. He was 11 when violent fighting broke out around him in Lhasa, and by the time he was 15—an age when most of us are stumbling through high school—he was the full-time political leader of his people, having to negotiate against Mao Zedong. After he fled Tibet at age 23, when Chinese pressure on Lhasa seemed certain to provoke widespread violence, he had to remake an entire ancient culture in exile.

The result of all this is that he is as rigorous and detailed a realist as you could hope to meet. His life has never allowed him the luxury of talking abstractly or wishfully from a mountaintop. He follows the news

andra's Net. Thus, calling Chinese individuals your enemy and Tibetans your friend, the Dalai Lama might suggest, is as crazy as calling your right eye your ally and your left your adversary; you usually need both to function well, and all parts of the world body depend on all other parts. “Before,” I heard him say last November, “destruction of your enemy was victory for your side.” But in our globalized world, where ecology enforces our sense of mutual dependence, “destruction of your enemy is destruction of yourself.”

The other essential idea of Buddhism (more accurately called a science of mind than a religion) is that we can change our world by changing how we choose to look at the world. “There is nothing either good or bad,” as Hamlet said, “but thinking makes it so.” For most of us, for example, exile means disruption and loss. But the

Living with Bipolar Disorder Takes Understanding:

where you've been

You've spent years trying to manage the extreme ups and downs with mood swings and relapses.

where you want to be

You want your manic symptoms controlled and to feel more like yourself.

how to get there

Maybe ABILIFY can help. ABILIFY helps control the symptoms of bipolar mania and reduce the risk of manic relapse.

the ABILIFY experience

Hundreds of thousands of patients have been prescribed ABILIFY.

ABILIFY is used to treat manic or mixed episodes in adults with Bipolar I Disorder.

ABILIFY was shown to have a low risk of significant weight gain in 3-week clinical trials.*

Ask your healthcare professional
if once-a-day ABILIFY is right for you.

Individual results may vary.

*Significant weight gain: ABILIFY 3%, sugar pill 2%.

What important information about ABILIFY do I need to know?

Elderly patients diagnosed with psychosis as a result of dementia (for example, an inability to perform daily activities as a result of increased memory loss), and who are treated with atypical antipsychotic medicines including ABILIFY, are at an increased risk of death when compared to patients who are treated with a placebo (sugar pill). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

Serious side effects can occur with any antipsychotic medicine, including ABILIFY. Tell your doctor or healthcare professional right away if you have or develop any conditions or side effects, such as:

- If you are elderly, an increased risk of stroke or ministroke has been reported in clinical trials for elderly patients with dementia.
- Very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure may be signs of neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS), which is rare but potentially fatal.
- Abnormal or uncontrollable facial movements may be signs of tardive dyskinesia (TD), which may be permanent.
- If you have diabetes, risk factors for, or symptoms of diabetes, increases in blood sugar levels have been reported with medicines like ABILIFY. In some cases these were serious and resulted in coma or death.
- If you have lightheadedness upon standing, seizures, trouble swallowing, or suicidal thoughts.

It's important to tell your healthcare professional about all the medicines you're taking, since there are some risks for drug interactions with ABILIFY.

You should avoid alcohol while taking ABILIFY.

ABILIFY can affect your judgment or motor skills. Until you know how it affects you, you should not operate machinery or drive.

What are the most common side effects of ABILIFY?

Nausea, vomiting, constipation, headache, dizziness, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), anxiety, and insomnia.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

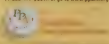
Please read additional IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT ABILIFY, including **Boxed WARNING**, on the adjacent page.



For The Road Ahead

www.abilify.com/bipolardisorder

If you or someone you know needs help
paying for medicine, call 1-888-APRIL-9038
(1-888-477-2691). Or go to www.april.org





IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT ABILIFY

This summary of the Package Insert contains risk and safety information for patients about ABILIFY. This summary does not include all information about ABILIFY and does not take the place of discussions with your healthcare professional about your treatment. Please read this important information before you start taking ABILIFY and discuss any questions about ABILIFY with your healthcare professional.

Name

ABILIFY® (o-BIL-i-fi) (aripiprazole) (en-ri-Pip-ro-zoll)

What is ABILIFY?

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used for treatment of adults with manic or mixed episodes associated with Bipolar I Disorder.

What is Bipolar I Disorder?

Bipolar I Disorder is an illness with symptoms thought to be caused by an imbalance of brain chemicals. People who have Bipolar I Disorder tend to experience extreme mood swings, along with other specific symptoms and behaviors. These mood swings, or "episodes", can take three forms: manic, depressive, or mixed episodes. Common symptoms of a manic episode are: feeling extremely happy, being very irritable and anxious, talking too fast and too much, and having more energy and needing less sleep than usual. Common symptoms of a depressive episode include: feelings of overwhelming sadness or emptiness, low energy, a loss of interest in things, trouble concentrating, changes in sleep or appetite, and thoughts of dying or suicide. A mixed episode includes symptoms that are both manic and depressive.

Who should not take ABILIFY?

People who are allergic to ABILIFY or to any substance that is in it. Please talk with your healthcare professional.

What important information should I know about ABILIFY?

Elderly patients, diagnosed with psychosis as a result of dementia (for example, an inability to perform daily activities as a result of increased memory loss), and who are treated with atypical antipsychotic medicines including ABILIFY, are at an increased risk of death when compared to patients who are treated with a placebo (sugar pill). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

Serious side effects can occur with any antipsychotic medicine, including ABILIFY. Tell your healthcare professional right away if you have any conditions or side effects, including the following:

Stroke or ministroke in elderly patients with dementia:

An increased risk of stroke and ministroke has been reported in clinical studies of elderly patients with dementia (for example, increased memory loss and inability to perform daily activities). ABILIFY is not approved for treating patients with dementia.

Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS): Very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure may be signs of NMS, a rare but serious side effect that could be fatal.

Tardive dyskinesia (TD): Abnormal or uncontrollable facial movements may be signs of a serious condition known as TD, which may be permanent.

High blood sugar and diabetes: Patients with diabetes and those having risk factors for diabetes (for example, obesity, family history of diabetes), as well as those with symptoms such as unexpected increases in thirst, urination, or hunger should have their blood sugar levels checked before and during treatment. Increases in blood sugar levels (hyperglycemia), in some cases serious and associated with coma or death, have been reported in patients taking ABILIFY, and medicines like it.

Orthostatic hypotension: Lightheadedness or faintness caused by a sudden change in heart rate and blood pressure when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position (orthostatic hypotension) has been reported with ABILIFY.

Suicidal thoughts: If you have suicidal thoughts, you should tell your healthcare professional right away.

Dysphagia: Medicines like ABILIFY have been associated with swallowing problems (dysphagia). If you had or have swallowing problems, you should tell your healthcare professional.

What should I tell my healthcare professional before I start taking ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

Information about your overall health, and any medical problems you may have, such as:

- Whether you're taking any other prescription or nonprescription (over-the-counter) medicines
- Whether you're pregnant, plan to become pregnant, or are breast-feeding
- If you or anyone in your family has had seizures
- If you or anyone in your family has had high blood sugar or diabetes

What should I avoid when taking ABILIFY?

- Avoid overheating and dehydration
- Avoid driving or operating hazardous machinery until you know how ABILIFY affects you
- Avoid drinking alcohol
- Avoid breast-feeding an infant

What are the common side effects of ABILIFY?

Common side effects include: nausea, vomiting, constipation, headache, dizziness, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), anxiety, and insomnia.

What percentage of people stopped taking ABILIFY due to side effects?

In clinical trials, the percentage of people who discontinued taking ABILIFY due to side effects was similar for patients treated with ABILIFY (11%) and for patients treated with sugar pill (9%).

Can I safely take ABILIFY while I'm taking other medications?

ABILIFY can be taken with most drugs; however, taking ABILIFY with some medicines may require your healthcare professional to adjust the dosage of ABILIFY.

Some medicines* include:

- ketoconazole (NIZORAL®)
- quinine (QUINIDEX®)
- fluoxetine (PROZAC®)
- paroxetine (PAXIL®)
- carbamazepine (TEGRETOL®)

It is important to tell your healthcare professional about all the medicines you're taking, just to be sure.

General Information:

- ABILIFY is usually taken once a day, with or without food
- ABILIFY should be kept out of the reach of children and pets
- Store ABILIFY Tablets and the Oral Solution at room temperature
- For patients who must limit their sugar intake, be aware that ABILIFY Oral Solution contains sugar
- For patients who cannot metabolize phenylalanine (those with phenylketonuria or PKU), ABILIFY DISCMLT™ contains phenylalanine
- If you have additional questions, talk to your healthcare professional

Find out more about ABILIFY:

Please visit our website at www.abilify.com/bipolaridisor

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Orally Disintegrating Tablets, Oral Solution, and injection manufactured by Bristol-Myers Squibb Company, Princeton, NJ 08543 USA.
Developed and marketed by Otsuka America Pharmaceutical, Inc., Rockville, MD 20850 USA.
Marketed by Bristol-Myers Squibb Company, Princeton, NJ 08543 USA.
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dhist precepts, he has not called for Tibetan independence from China for more than 20 years; he seeks only autonomy, whereby China could control Tibetans' defense and foreign affairs so long as Tibetans have sovereignty over everything else. But more and more Tibetans in exile ask how they can sit by and practice nonviolence while their homes and families are being wiped out by the Chinese occupation. "Why is he thinking of the future and not the present, the past?" asks an outspoken Tibetan in Dharamsala who once fought with the CIA-trained guerrillas violently resisting the Chinese. "I want freedom in this world, not from this world."

In July 2006 Chinese authorities intensified what the Dalai Lama calls "demographic aggression" by launching a high-speed

that Tibetans understand that for their material well-being, it is of benefit to be part of the People's Republic. The only important thing, he pointed out, was how its rulers use the train and whether they deploy it for compassionate purposes or not.

It can almost seem, in considering Tibet, as if two different visions of freedom are colliding. For Buddhists, liberation traditionally means freedom from ignorance and so from the suffering it brings. For Chinese pledged to material development, freedom simply means liberation from the past, from religion and from backwardness. According to the Dalai Lama, at the sixth and most recent round of regular talks between Chinese officials and a delegation of Tibetans, the Chinese said, "There is no Tibet issue. Everything

institution will disappear. But that does not mean that Tibetan Buddhist culture will cease. No!" Most Tibetans, however, cannot abide the thought of a future without their traditional leader.

The deeper issue, as the Dalai Lama all ways stresses, is that names and forms are unimportant so long as something more fundamental is sustained. The Buddha's job—and therefore that of his most prominent contemporary student—was not just to be clear-sighted and compassionate but also to show how compassionate and clear-sighted any one of us can be. In that regard, it hardly matters whether the terms *Dalai Lama* or *Buddhism* or even *Tibet* continue to exist. As it is, thanks to the exodus of Tibetans in the past half century, Tibetan culture and Buddhism have become part of the global neighborhood. Whereas there were all of two Tibetan Buddhist centers in the West in 1968, there are now more than 40 in New York City alone. In Taiwan, there are more than 200. More French people call themselves Buddhist than Protestant or Jew.

Perhaps most significant, some of the people most eagerly drawn to Tibetan tradition and Buddhism are, in fact, citizens of China, who have been denied any religious sustenance for more than 50 years. The last time I visited Lhasa, in 2002, I saw more and more Chinese individuals going to the Jokhang Temple at the center of town as pilgrims, seeking out Tibetan lamas for instruction, even trying to learn Tibetan, the same language that is all but banned for Tibetans. When I traveled across Japan with the Dalai Lama last November, I saw dozens of Chinese people clustering around him, sobbing and asking for his blessing and, 30 minutes later, saw another group of Chinese, much more poised and sophisticated, eager to talk to him about their plans for democracy in the mainland.

"If 30 years from now, Tibet is 6 million Tibetans and 10 million Chinese Buddhists," the Tibetan leader said to me five years ago, "then maybe something will be O.K." As the world looks toward Beijing and its glittering coming-out party this August, and the Chinese government prepares to unveil all the fruits of its recent remarkable economic achievements, oppressed citizens in Tibet and elsewhere will no doubt use the same opportunity to remind the world of what has been lost in terms of freedom and humanity in the rush for those achievements. The calm scientist in monk robes, however, with his habit of looking at the deeper causes beneath every surface, will surely keep noting that the only revolution that lasts and that can truly help us toward a better world is the one that begins inside. ■



In the heights From his rooftop, the Dalai Lama looks out on a valley below mountains that separate the Indian subcontinent from Tibet

train linking Lhasa to Beijing and other Chinese cities, thus allowing 6,000 more Han Chinese to flood into the Tibetan capital every day. Lhasa, sometimes known as an "abode of the gods," has turned from the small traditional settlement I first saw in 1985 into an Eastern Las Vegas, with a population of 300,000 (two out of every three of them Chinese). On the main streets alone, by one Western scholar's count, there are 238 dance halls and karaoke parlors and 658 brothels, and the Potola Palace—for centuries a symbol of a culture whose people were ruled by a monk and home to nine Dalai Lamas—is now mockingly surrounded by an amusement park.

Yet the Dalai Lama, true to his thinking, points out that the Beijing-Lhasa train is neither good nor bad. "It is a form of progress, of material development," I heard him say four months ago, adding

in Tibet is very smooth." To which the exiled Tibetans said, "If things are really as good as you say they are, then why don't you let us come and see the reality?"

The Long Road

THE CENTRAL QUESTION SURROUNDING Tibet, of course, is what will happen when the current Dalai Lama dies. In preparation for that event, the man has been stressing for years that the function of any Dalai Lama is only to fulfill the work of the previous Dalai Lama; therefore, any young child selected by Chinese authorities and declared to be the 15th Dalai Lama, a Beijing puppet, will not be the true "Dalai Lama of Tibetan hearts." As practical and flexible as ever and holding to the Buddhist ideas of impermanence and nonattachment, he told me as far back as 1996, "At a certain stage, the Dalai Lama

Cosmic Flock. The solar system is filled with NASA's busy ships—and they're having a very good year

BY DAN CRAY

HUMAN BEINGS HAVE A HABIT OF MAKING traffic wherever they go. Give us a new means of transportation, and pretty soon highways, sea lanes and airline routes are filled with vehicles. Now add to that deep space.

For all the attention that the shuttle, the space station and other manned spacecraft get, the real foot soldiers of space exploration have always been the unmanned ships—and right now they're enjoying something of a golden age. The U.S. currently has no fewer than 11 interplanetary probes scattered about the solar system; five are orbiting, roving or approaching

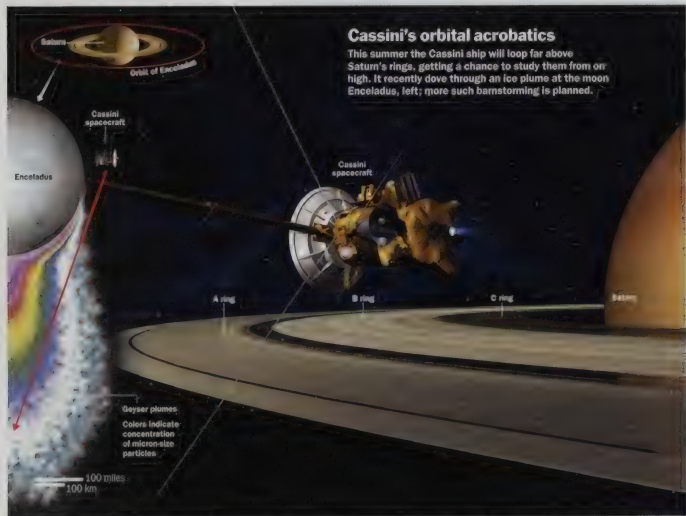
Mars alone, and the others are targeting Mercury, the sun, Saturn and numerous comets or asteroids. One probe is heading for a never before rendezvous with Pluto, a destination it won't reach until 2015.

This spring three of the rugged ships stand out from the rest. Near Saturn, the Cassini orbiter, launched by the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, just executed a dramatic dive through an icy geyser that reaches 950 miles (1,530 km) into space from the Saturnian moon Enceladus, and there are plans to follow that up with even higher-risk maneuvers. In May NASA's Phoenix Lander will set down in Mars' arctic region

in search of water ice. And later this month NASA and the European Space Agency will retire their Ulysses solar surveyor after a 17-year mission that has reframed our understanding of the sun.

All three missions have thrilled and surprised scientists—who pride themselves on knowing more or less what to expect. "I sit back with my mouth open, watching paradigms shift," says Linda Spilker, Cassini's deputy project scientist.

The orbiter's plume dive was responsible for some of that shifting. Passing just 120 miles (190 km) above the surface of Enceladus, Cassini sampled an icy exhaust



WHAT IF THE NEXT
GLOBAL BATTLEGROUND
ISN'T ON THE GROUND?



that researchers don't even know existed until the spacecraft spotted it three years ago. NASA expects to release detailed composition information soon, but the ice hints at subsurface water and the attendant possibility of life. Seven more close brush flybys are in the offing, including one high-wire plunge that will drop the spacecraft a scant 15 miles (24 km) above Enceladus' surface. Says JPL's Spilker: "We're going to taste and sniff everything."

Before the orbiter attempts that maneuver, it will execute two flybys of the moon Titan, whose opaque orange atmosphere has been increasingly helped by the spacecraft's radar. And this summer Cassini will make an unusually high orbit above Saturn's massive B ring, promising unique images of the ring, spread like an immense halo around the planet. The ship will also have the rare opportunity to observe the sun cross the plane of the ring from south to north, literally shedding light on the B ring's complex particle structure. "We want to know what a particle would look like if you could pick one up and hold it in your hand," Spilker says, "and we can do that by studying how they heat and cool."

Don't mention cooling to the researchers behind the Phoenix Mars Lander. Their ship will have just six months to sample and study the water ice at the Martian north pole before -200°F (-130°C) winter temperatures hit the region. "We last until the sun goes down. Then we freeze to death," says principal investigator Peter Smith, a planetary scientist at the University of Arizona, Tucson. Before it does, Phoenix Lander will probably offer a first look at actual Martian water ice rather than the dry water scars of millennia past. To do that, the lander will use a digging arm and a suite of mineralogy instruments to hunt for salts, clays and other signs that liquid water is manipulating the soil. If Phoenix Lander hits its targets, this will be a big step toward later missions that will search for microscopic organic life. "Pay attention," Smith says, "because it's the polar region. No one's ever been there, and it's going to be fun."

Less glamorous but more sweeping than

What's Flying Now

NASA's ships are everywhere, from the sun to Saturn and en route to Pluto. The celestial fleet includes:



1. ULYSSES

A joint project with the European Space Agency, Ulysses has been studying the sun for 17 years. It will ease into retirement on March 30



2. MESSENGER Launched to Mercury in 2004, it will enter orbit in 2011. Data will be prized, since solar gravity makes missions to Mercury hard—and rare



3. PHOENIX

Joining four other U.S. probes orbiting or roving Mars, the ship will land in the Martian north pole in May, becoming the first to sample its ice



4. DAWN EXPRESS Launched last year, it will arrive at the asteroids Ceres in 2011 and Vesta in 2015, searching for clues to the origins of the solar system



5. CASSINI

Orbiting Saturn since 2004, it has studied the planet's rings, landed a probe on one of its moons and flown through an icy geyser from another



6. NEW HORIZONS Now on a history-making nine-year journey to Pluto (it will arrive in 2015). On the way, it has conducted a revealing flyby of Jupiter

the half-year Phoenix mission was the long-running Ulysses mission, which took the first full measure of the sun's polar regions. If it swirls, floats or emanates near the sun, Ulysses studied it. The spacecraft discovered that the sun's magnetic field determines the regions that produce the solar wind, and ruffled more than a few scientists' feathers when it showed that a hot corona produces the fastest solar winds—exactly the opposite of prevailing theories.

Ulysses also tracked interstellar dust particles all the way from the sun to Earth, and in so doing helped map the planet's magnetic fields. The big surprise came when Ulysses stumbled on the tails of two comets and found that those feathery streams were more than 93 million miles (150 million km) in length. That's about the distance from the sun to Earth. "Totally unexpected," JPL project scientist Ed Smith says simply.

A diminishing power supply means the Ulysses mission ends on March 30, but the textbook rewrites will go on as fresh ships continue to take the place of old ones. The Lunar Reconnaissance Orbiter (LRO), which will launch later this year, will conduct the most comprehensive surveys of the moon the U.S. has ever attempted, using cameras that can spot an object as small as a football. The mission will help scout for landing sites, as NASA is holding fast to its plans to return astronauts to the moon by 2020. LRO will also hunt for signs of water ice on the moon, as well as help study the irregular lunar gravity field, caused by dense concentrations of mass beneath the surface—the geological equivalent of lumps in oatmeal. Most dramatically, it will collect detailed images of all six Apollo landing sites, which have stood unseen for close to 40 years. "LRO's job is to open up the lunar frontier," says Jim Garvin, chief scientist at Goddard's Space Flight Center, where the craft is being assembled. "Right now we have a view from the 1970s, and here we are in the 21st century."

More missions to Mars are anticipated, including one that would return soil samples, possibly shedding fresh light on Martian life and allowing NASA to rehearse the round-trip skills that would be necessary for a manned mission. And even as the new ships are readied, some of the great historic ones are still in flight. Voyagers 1 and 2, launched in 1977 on a grand tour of the outer planets, are now on their way out of the solar system, with the last breaths of solar wind at their backs. Remarkably, NASA may be able to stay in touch with them for up to 30 more years—meaning the granddaddy ships could remain online long after some of the newest ones have winked out. As traffic jams go, that's not bad. ■

Even as new ships are readied, vintage ones are still in flight. Voyagers 1 and 2, launched in 1977, are on their way out of the solar system

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- Jackie Joyner-Kersey
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Jackie with Ron Erkens,
Medco asthma specialist pharmacist

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Life

Here was the most disturbing example of guinea worm disease and all its devastating consequences

JIMMY CARTER
POWER OF ONE, PAGE 43

LIVING TRAVEL POWER OF ONE HEALTH

LIVING

Hung Up on Wallpaper. Cutting-edge styles and techniques are giving a dowdy old standby a hip new look

BY ELISABETH SALEMME

LAURA LOVETT HAD ALWAYS ASSOCIATED wallpaper with her grandmother's dated prints, but when she heard that her hip mom was redecorating with contemporary wall coverings, Lovett was intrigued. After 14 years of experimenting

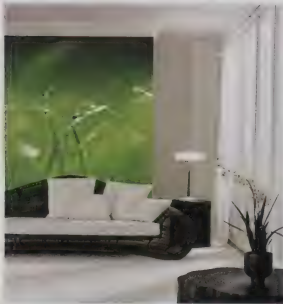
with painting techniques in her home in Summit, N.J., she started poring over books filled with materials like bamboo, sand-embossed patterns and unexpectedly large shapes. Wallpaper, she quickly realized, had changed since her grandmother's time. "I'm looking to make a statement," says Lovett, 49. "And with

Bold and beautiful Large prints like this floral pattern use contrasting colors to make an impact

these funky designs, you can do that with texture and color."

Lovett has caught on to interior designers' latest passion. Photographic murals of nature, distressed leathers and bead-encrusted designs are some of the new styles adorning the walls of homes across the U.S. York Wallcoverings, the nation's oldest and largest manufacturer, has seen a 25% increase in sales of its new line of the trendiest wallpapers this year. "American designers are rediscovering what the

What's Hot on Trendy Walls



York design director Gina Shaw on the new looks:

MURALS

Some are photographs, while others have a hand-painted look, but they typically feature nature. Shaw says: "It does what a muralist could do, but economically."

ANIMAL PRINTS

Exotic skins like zebra stripes or simple looks like distressed leather provide a neutral backdrop. Shaw says: "It has a global feel. People aspire to having in their homes the looks and materials they've seen abroad."



TEXTURES

Natural materials like bamboo and sand and synthetics like glass beads are gaining traction. Shaw says: "Textures give a tone-on-tone look, so the design appears different depending on how light hits the wall."

BOLD PATTERNS

Fussy florals are out. Now it's huge prints of flowers and wildlife. Shaw says: "Rooms in homes today often have higher ceilings, so they can carry contemporary large-scale designs."



British have always known—wallpaper is one of the best ways to bring personality into a house," says John Loecke, an interior designer based in Brooklyn, N.Y., who has recently added wallpaper to homes in Louisiana, Iowa and Connecticut.

Wallpaper's popularity has had ebbs and flows. It fell out of favor in the '90s

when faux-painting techniques were preferred. Now some of the most popular wallpaper designs are inspired by haute couture. "On runways, we see embellishments, beading and crystals, which are all new innovations for wallpaper," says Gina Shaw, York's design director. "Black-and-white is also big in fashion, and that has translated to walls." Lovett has taken a cue from that trend. Six months ago, she put a twist on the traditional by papering her 8-ft. by 10-ft. (2.5 m by 3 m) home office in a large-scale black-and-white toile. Though she will hire professional hangers when she redecorates her kitchen and bathroom, wallpaper isn't as difficult to mount as it once was, adding to its appeal.

"The new, heavier papers have structural integrity, as opposed to older, flimsier kinds," says Jerry Russo, CEO of Roman Decorating Products, which develops adhesives.

And while some patterns can cost up to \$260 a roll, using wallpaper is often a cheaper alternative to masking a wall's imperfections. "It's also a good foil for small spaces," Loecke says. "Treating walls and ceilings the same way helps the room feel bigger because the eye doesn't move." And it can be a cheap-chic way of adding interest to a home. Rather than covering every wall, mounting a bold design on one surface is a striking technique. Says Shaw: "It's like having a work of art."

'I'm looking to make a statement. And with these funky designs, you can do that.'

—LAURA LOVETT, WHO USES WALLPAPER IN HER HOME

TRAVEL

Where the Hospitality Is Priceless. Short on cash? Online travel networks are helping tourists find a place to sleep free of charge

BY CAROLYN SAYRE

FORGET THE FALLING DOLLAR. All that penny-pinching tourists need to travel the globe is a willingness to try something different and access to a new breed of travel website.

Some of these electronic

bulletin boards, known as hospitality exchange sites, hook up travelers with locals who don't mind having some one stay in an extra room, crash on an empty couch or even pitch a tent in the yard. Many allow people to take turns hosting one another

in their homes. And others arrange work for temporary room and board. A few charge nominal fees, but most are free. "What used to be a fringe hobby for a few travelers is becoming a mainstream phenomenon," says Daniel Hoffer, co-founder of Couch Surfing,

which has nearly 470,000 users—up 56% since last year.

But hospitality exchange isn't just about saving a couple of bucks. Users, who vary in age, say it also gives them a more authentic, outside-the-guidebook experience. "It distinguishes a tourist from a traveler," says Harold Goldstein of Hospitality Exchange. "Instead of just sightseeing, you participate in the daily life of locals." So rather than pull the plug on that next pricey vacation, check out these cheap—and unique—travel options. ■

Guest Swap

Travelers take turns hosting one another

Example: Paris native Laurent Lugand, 48, stayed with Minako Mizoguchi, 50, in Osaka, Japan, far right; Mizoguchi visited France the next year. **Experience:** Lugand says, "It was a moving experience—we all felt like family. We wanted to return what they had given us."

Where to look: servas.org



Work for a Bed

Locals give tourists a place to stay in exchange for what is typically four or five hours a day of manual labor. **Example:** Toronto resident Cheryl Brown, 28, picked figs on a farm last year to support her monthlong stay in Evia, Greece. **Experience:** "I wanted to remind myself that there are other ways of living and earning. It was hard work, but I wouldn't have been able to go otherwise. I didn't spend any money that month." **Where to look:** helps.net

Couch Surf

Site pairs tourists with local hosts who have an empty couch for them to sleep on. **Example:** Swedish student Morgan Lindqvist, 25, traveled in the U.S. and Mexico for two months last year, including a stop in Las Vegas, below. **Experience:** "It was never strange for me to sleep on someone else's couch. Some are just more comfortable than others." **Where to look:** couchsurfing.com





How You Can Help
To learn more about guinea worm disease and other initiatives at The Carter Center, go to cartercenter.org

A Village Woman's Legacy

An encounter with the victim of an old scourge gave a former President a new worldview—and a mission

SOMETIMES IT'S THE QUIETEST VOICE THAT speaks the loudest. The quiet voice I heard in 1988 was that of a young woman from Ghana. The morning my wife Rosalynn and I visited the woman's village of Denchira, near the Ghanaian capital of Accra, she sat timidly on a bench amid her neighbors, who had assembled to greet us. She appeared to be in excruciating pain, and it looked as if she were cradling a baby in her right arm. As I approached, I was shocked to see that she was not holding a baby but her grossly swollen right breast. A guinea worm was emerging from the nipple, causing her a fiery agony as it migrated through her body. Here was the most graphic and disturbing example I had ever seen of the centuries-old guinea worm disease and all its devastating consequences. Although the scourge was preventable, it was ravaging the most neglected villages of Africa and Asia.

I was horrified to find out later that the worm was one of 11 that had thrived in the young woman's body that season. And in that primitive settlement, she was among 200 or so people, out of a population of 500, infected. Villagers of all ages were too weak to walk or permanently scarred and crippled. As a result, a community would go hungry because its farmers were too sick to work the fields.

Encountering those victims firsthand, particularly the teenagers and small children, propelled me and Rosalynn to step up The Carter Center's efforts to eradicate guinea worm disease. The image of the young woman's suffering not only personalized the illness but also forced me to view life for the first time through the eyes of

Villagers of all ages were too weak to walk or permanently scarred and crippled. As a result, a community would go hungry because its farmers were too sick to work the fields

the poor, the powerless and the voiceless and to come to terms with how the quality of their existence affects the world at large. I realized too that I could have done more when I was President to help people in developing countries.

Until that point, I had dealt with global matters in a more macro way. As President, I was primarily interested in peace in the Middle East, normalizing relations

tries, compared with 3.5 million in 1986.

Whenever I spend time in villages like Denchira, I draw from my childhood memories in rural Georgia. I know that when farmers are ill, their families and communities suffer as well. I'm also aware that proper health care is a basic human right, thanks to the superb treatment I received at a clinic in my hometown of Plains and the abiding example of my mother Lillian. A registered



Beating It On a trip to Ghana in 2007, more than 20 years after he began efforts to eradicate guinea worm disease, Carter visited a hospital where a girl was being treated for the painful condition

with China and avoiding war with the Soviet Union. I had often met with a nation's leader without comprehending the daily struggles of its average citizen. Fortunately, this time around, I had both the opportunity and the sensibility to do things differently. Working on behalf of The Carter Center, we persuaded other organizations—including the World Health Organization, UNICEF, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the Peace Corps—to join in the fight against the illness. When we started fighting the disease, guinea worm was in 20 African and Asian countries. Today, I'm happy to say, we are tackling the last cases. Fewer than 10,000 people are still afflicted in five African coun-

ntries, she taught me that lesson every time she ministered, free of charge when necessary, to any person, black or white, in the segregated South of my youth.

I never did see that young woman again or find out what happened to her. But the following year when we returned to her village, guinea worm had been nearly eliminated there, through the efforts of The Carter Center, other organizations and the villagers themselves. Having seen her that day in 1988, I came to examine life differently—in a micro way. I now believe that the vitality of one person's life has an impact on the health and harmony of the surrounding world. —AS TOLD TO

MICHELLE LODGE

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HEALTH

Why Women Need Better Sleep.

Poor sleep habits make them more vulnerable to heart disease than men

BY ALICE PARK

MOST WOMEN KNOW THAT NOTHING KILLS a good complexion like a bad night's slumber; there's a reason, after all, that it's called beauty sleep. If that's not motivation enough to keep up with your nightly shut-eye, here's another: doctors are learning that poor sleep habits may make women more vulnerable than men to heart disease and diabetes.

Are men and women so different physiologically that they react differently to troubled sleep patterns? Or are men protected somehow from the health effects of poor sleep? To find out, Dr. Edward Suarez at Duke University gathered 210 healthy men

and women and asked them detailed questions about their sleep habits—including how long it took them to fall asleep, how many hours they had slumbered in the past month, whether they slept through the night and if they felt drowsy during the day. Then he recorded their levels of cholesterol, insulin, glucose, a clotting agent known as fibrinogen, inflammatory proteins that contribute to heart disease, and insulin resistance (the precursor to diabetes). Since emotional factors can affect sleep as well, he also assessed each subject's levels of depression, hostility and anger, using standard psychological questionnaires.

What Suarez uncovered was a consistent association between poor sleep and

higher levels of the risk factors for heart disease and diabetes—but only among the women. Men who had trouble falling asleep or reported interrupted sleep did not show higher levels of the risk factors and therefore had reduced chances of developing the illnesses. "I kept trying to disprove the findings," Suarez says. "I put in age, but age did not do anything to destroy the results. I put in race because blacks often report worse sleep than whites, but nothing happened." Smoking and, for women, menstrual status did not eliminate the gender gap either.

The results, published in the journal *Brain, Behavior and Immunity*, are among the

'Just as we teach patients to eat well and exercise, we should be telling them to sleep well.'

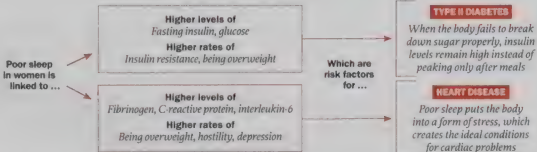
—DR. PHYLLIS ZEE,
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

first to link poor sleep to such a wide array of physiological changes. While he cannot fully explain why men and women are affected differently, Suarez believes that testosterone could play a role. In his study, men reporting the most difficulty sleeping also had the highest levels of testosterone, which is known to reduce levels of heart-damaging inflammatory proteins. So, he speculates, while testosterone may trigger sleep problems, it may also blunt some of the physiological changes that can raise the risk of heart disease and diabetes.

Suarez's study stops short of establishing that a woman can reduce her risk for these conditions just by changing her sleep pattern, but it should galvanize women to pay more attention to the time they spend in bed. "I don't think we have to wait 20, 30 or 40 years to start intervention," says Dr. Phyllis Zee, director of the sleep-disorders center at Northwestern University. "Just as we teach patients to eat well and exercise for their health, we should be telling them to sleep well." In other words, for women, a good night's rest is far more than just beauty sleep. ■

HOW TOO LITTLE SHUT-EYE CAN HURT

Not sleeping enough, having trouble falling asleep or slumbering fitfully can lead to changes in the body that raise a woman's risk of heart disease and diabetes



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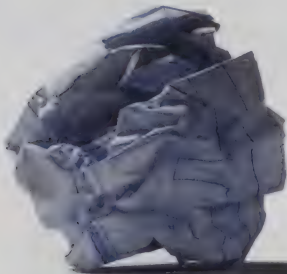


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imagination at work

Building a Better Athlete. If the body is a machine, the best ones need pit crews. Meet the technicians behind the champions



Extreme limbs
Carroll helps disabled athletes find their stride

Kevin Carroll

Lost limbs are no bar to competing or excelling at sports, thanks to improved spare parts

DESIGNER Perspective can be everything. In January, when the International Association of Athletics Federations ruled that Oscar Pistorius' artificial legs gave the sprinter an unfair edge in Olympic competition, prosthetics designer Kevin

Carroll wasn't surprised. The industry, he says, "knew this was coming. And isn't it wonderful that it's here?"

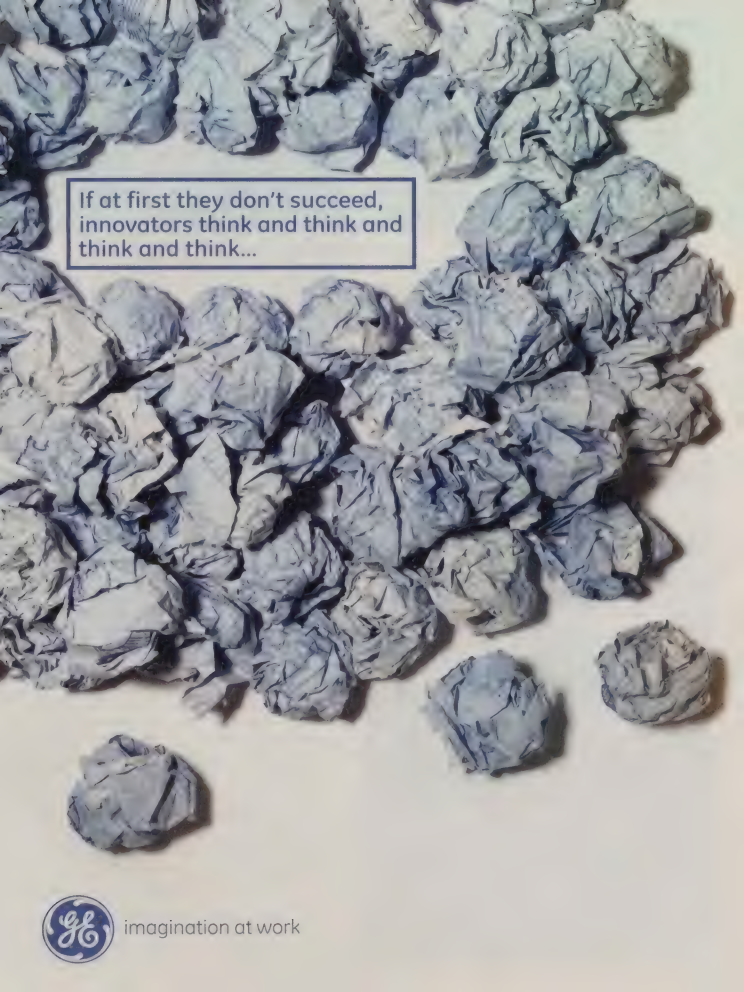
For Carroll, 49, who has been developing and fitting artificial limbs for more than 25 years, the IAAF's decision was not so

much a setback as a welcome reminder of how far prosthetics technology has come. Vice president of prosthetics for Hanger Prosthetics & Orthotics in Maryland, Carroll has become a go-to guy for disabled athletes who want to take artificial limbs to the extreme not only in competition but also in sports like ice-climbing, rock-climbing and skiing. He has created everything from prosthetic legs that function as crampons to feet that lock directly into ski bindings. "You have to learn not to say never with these guys," says Carroll. "If you do, they're going to go out and prove you wrong."

Cameron Clapp, who lost both legs and an arm after being hit by a train seven years ago, surfs, golfs, runs, swims and skis, among other things. One of the first doctors Clapp saw after his accident told the family that Clapp would spend 99% of his life in a wheelchair. "He didn't know what I was capable of," says Clapp, now 22. Eventually, his family helped him find Carroll, who has been working with him ever since.

Carroll's ability to harness his clients' drive is pushing the industry forward. Developing gear for athletes like Clapp and Warren Macdonald, a double-leg amputee who has used Carroll's designs to climb Mount Killimanjaro and the face of El Capitan, has led to the introduction of better mainstream limbs for people who don't use them to ascend ice walls. "We come up with a one-off thing, and we wind up with some phenomenal technology," says Carroll. For his clients, that means equally phenomenal mobility.

—BY KRISTA MAHR

A large pile of crumpled paper balls, mostly in shades of blue and grey, is scattered across a light-colored surface. The balls vary in size and are densely packed in some areas, with a few smaller ones isolated in the foreground.

If at first they don't succeed,
innovators think and think and
think and think...



imagination at work

And think and think and think. Until they succeed.

GENx Aircraft Engine



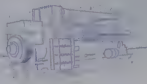
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Isozaku Kubota

Inside a block of raw wood, the perfect bat may be hiding. It takes artistry to know how to find it and draw it out.

BATMAN In the past, a *katana*, a Japanese sword, was a samurai's soul. The warriors may be long gone, but the samurai spirit lives on—particularly among Japanese professional baseball players. Take the Seattle Mariners' All-Star center fielder Ichiro Suzuki. Between games, Ichiro gives his bat the *katana* treatment: keeping it protected in a sealed aluminum case. After every game, he takes it to his locker and shows his gratitude for its

than 1,500 professional players, including Pete Rose and Hideki Matsui.

Kubota's bats have won such a following because of his innate knowledge of the character of wood. He can discern the weight, pliancy and even the width of the rings of a piece of wood by look, feel or the knocking sound it makes. He can harvest a dozen or so promising blocks out of a thousand he might examine—and then transform them.

When making a bat for Ichiro, for example, Kubota shaves it to 31 oz. to 31.75 oz. (880 g to 900 g), taking into account the 0.25 oz. (7 g) of lacquer that will be added. He places the sweet spot—the point of peak springiness—2 in. to 2.4 in. (5 cm to 6 cm) from the top, which is where Ichiro wants it.



Performance art
Kubota's bats begin with wood of good character

service by going through the ritual of cleaning it.

Ichiro's reverence for the bat came to him during a 1992 visit to the wise man of batmaking, 64-year-old Isozaku Kubota, master craftsman for equipment manufacturer Mizuno Technics Corp. Over the past 49 years, Kubota has made custom-designed wooden bats for more

The happiest moment of Kubota's career was when Ichiro tallied his 258th hit of the 2004 season, breaking George Sisler's 84-year-old major-league record. "It felt so lucky to witness the breaking of a record that was set before I was born," says Kubota. "That might not happen even once in 100 years' time." —BY MICHIKO TOYAMA



Wouter Jager

Science and sport create what may be the world's fastest bicycle

BIKESMITH Work stopped at the headquarters of Koga, the high-end-bicycle manufacturer, during the sprint event at the 2004 Athens Olympics. The Netherlands-based company had sponsored star cyclist Theo Bos, and even watching on TV, managing director Wouter Jager, 48, knew his boy was struggling.

"We could see he lost valuable time because of the pedal and frame," recalls Jager. "The last 50 m were unstable." Not all that unstable, to be sure, but enough to cost him the gold medal by milliseconds. Next time around, Jager vowed, Bos would close that gap.

Koga has been working to make good on that promise ever since. After studying videos of the race, Jager enlisted the



Cycle star Bos, right, owes some of his success to the bikes Jager builds

help of the country's National Aerospace Laboratory and TNO, a Dutch research institute, as well as companies that make aerodynamic clothing, bike coatings and wheels. The result? The so-called half-million-euro bike—a blend of science and design that uses carbon technology to increase the frame's stiffness without a significant increase in weight.

Koga claims the frame is 130% stiffer than Bos' last bike and accounts for the world champion's near perfect record over the past couple of years. The company has tried to pick up speed in other ways too, from altering Bos' riding position to using compressive clothing that supports his muscles and improves aerodynamics.

"Bicycles are still two wheels, a chain and handlebars," notes Jager on the challenges of innovating a product that has essentially been around for more than 100 years. Still, the company is hoping Bos and his teammates—who have similar bikes—will prove that even so venerable a contraption can be made new. If all goes well, consumers will be able to purchase a version of the bike for themselves for a mere 4,000 euros (a bit more than \$6,100)—wheels not included.

—BY LAUREN COMITEAU

Holger Geschwindner

What do physics and jazz have to do with basketball? Plenty, if you really want to win

PHYSICIST Sir Isaac Newton is usually seen as the enemy of athletes. So much of sports, after all, involves battling gravity. But basketball coach Holger Geschwindner, 62, has found a way to turn the laws of physics to his advantage. A former captain of the German national team and a physicist, he has developed a series of formulas that may reveal the optimum arc for jump shots, using a combination of player height, arm length and release point. "Take differential and integral calculus. Make some derivations and create a curve," he recently said. "Everybody can do it."

Maybe not, but Geschwindner can. He developed the formulas 13 years ago in his hometown of Würzburg when he began working with a lanky 16-year-old named Dirk Nowitzki, voted Most Valuable Player of the NBA in 2007. Through their work, Geschwindner found that most

players shoot the ball on too flat an arc. "The higher the arc, the better, but you can go too high. The optimum is around 60°," he says.

Geschwindner, an unofficial shooting coach for the Dallas Mavericks, Nowitzki's team, relies on more than physics. He runs a basketball academy in Würzburg that he calls "the Institute of Applied Nonsense," and its name captures its unconventional approach. Players split ball-handling drills with tutorials in opera, literature, fencing, ballet and jazz.

In the early days, his methods alienated Geschwindner from the basketball community, but then his first crop of players came of age. Four other former Geschwindner pupils from Würzburg, a city of 300,000, play with Nowitzki on the German national team, which is sharpshooting its way through the qualification rounds for the Beijing Olympics. "If you see what he does, you can't believe it works," says Christoph Bueker of the German Basketball Federation. "But he's been so successful, you can no longer say it's lunacy."

—BY EBEN HARRELL



Net points: Geschwindner mixes in physics, jazz and opera

In deep Kiss turned disappointment at the 1960 Olympics into triumph



Laszlo Kiss

Hungary's swimmers are becoming global powerhouses, thanks to the talents of one man

POOLMAN Laszlo Kiss was very disappointed when he failed to win a medal at the 1960 Rome Olympics. The 19-year-old Hungarian swimmer came up empty in the 200-m backstroke, but he got an unexpected consolation prize when U.S. gold medalist Mike Troy shared some of his training secrets with him. "I immediately saw the difference between the way Mike prepared and the way

we did," says Kiss, now 67. "They trained more and harder, and the dry [land] training was very focused." For Kiss—and eventually for the world of swimming—that insight changed everything.

Three years later, Kiss quit competitive swimming to focus on coaching full time, hoping to develop new ways to build tougher, swifter swimmers. He has not stopped since.

Today Kiss is head of the Hungarian national swimming team, and he is turning his country from a fringe player in competitive swimming into a global force, one that's won aquatic medals at every Summer Olympics since 1988. In the process, Kiss is establishing himself as perhaps the most imaginative coach in the history of the sport.

One of Kiss's first successes came in the mid-1980s with 12-year-old Krisztina Egerszegi. Kiss had long wanted to try incorporating elements of the speedy crawl stroke into the pokier backstroke, but he never had a swimmer with the right flexibility. He recognized that Egerszegi was the talent he'd been waiting for and began teaching her the moves. That, however, required making minute but crucial changes in her technique—a very big deal in a sport in which fractions of a second count. So Kiss came up with inventive ways to help her learn.

"First we had Krisztina swim in a very narrow lane along the edge of the pool," Kiss says. "Since she had beautiful nails that she didn't want to scrape on the side, she learned to extend her arms as straight as possible in front of her head."

To fine-tune Egerszegi's posture, he developed other exercises like having her swim the backstroke with a cup of water on her forehead. She ultimately won seven Olympic medals—five of them gold—from 1988 to '96. Kiss believes her most noteworthy success came in a non-Olympic event in 1991, when she set a 200-m-backstroke world record that was not broken until this year.

Kiss's other champions include Agnes Kovacs and Karolyi Guttler, and he's hoping for more in Beijing this summer. But he won't take too much credit for all this success. "Swimming is teamwork," he says. "When you go to a meet, you see a lot of swimmers compete, and they all have their own techniques. You come away with ideas every time, but you're not stealing from anyone because it is all a team."

—BY JOHN NADLER

Deon Venter

An athlete needs the right training—and the right genes. A scientist learns how to spot them

GENE MAVEN Five years ago, Deon Venter was an expert in diseases, not sports. As chief pathologist for the Melbourne-based company Genetic Technologies, he focused on genetic links to breast cancer and epilepsy. But something happened to change all that.

In 2003 a group of researchers analyzed a single gene among 429 Australian athletes and found that sprinters and other power performers were far likelier to have a version of the gene that produced high levels of a protein used to help muscles generate force at high speed. Elite athletes in endurance events like long-distance running were more likely to have a version that left them deficient in the protein.

Venter, 51 and a triathlete, took the gene test immediately. "Questions I'd mulled over for

years were answered, quite literally, in about a minute," he says. He had the version of the gene that produced none of the key power protein. And sure enough, he'd never had great results at the gym, but he once won a U.K. triathlon, he says, because he was able to keep his pace in the grueling final miles.

Venter had Genetic Technologies secure the rights to the test, and in 2004 the company launched it commercially. Today, with a quick swab of the inside of a cheek, customers around the world can have the relevant gene tested.

Sure, athletic performance is about much more than one gene. Venter sees genotyping as simply a tool that can help athletes tailor their strategies to their aptitudes. He knows he can train for the triathlon more

effectively, for example, by nailing his swim technique than by working on the sprint finish. For now, Venter is already planning his next project: a start-up firm that could give customers sophisticated genetic information about not just sports performance but also weight regulation and blood-sugar levels. Eventually, he hopes, it will offer new insights into the fight against obesity. Now that sounds more like pathologists' work.

—BY LAURA BLUE



Born to run
Genes help Venter
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from the strong

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treatments with Dead
Sea mud inspired
Ahava's founders

SMALL BUSINESS

Mud Moguls. How a tiny Israeli company mined the Dead Sea and turned its natural riches into an international skin-care brand

BY CAROLYN SAYRE

ABOUT 20 YEARS AGO, A SPA TECHNICIAN named Ziva Gilad spotted some mud-covered women on the shore of Israel's Dead Sea. Every day she would watch the women, whom she jokingly called ginger bread cookies, douse their skin in the rich mud and let it wash away as they floated on top of the saltwater. One day, after notic-

ing a woman bottle up some mud to take home, Gilad had an idea for a company, and in 1988 she helped start a skin care line that makes its products using the black mud and gray-white salt from the Dead Sea.

The tiny company, Dead Sea Laboratories, grossed nearly \$1 million in its first year, most of it from boutique sales within Israel. Not bad for a 30-person start-up, but Gilad and her partners, members of four



Sand dollars Ahava's beachfront factory



Tubs of plenty Plastic barrels, far left, are filled with mud extracted from the Dead Sea

Smooth move A technician, left, checks the texture of the rich mud used for body masks

Mudslinger An Ahava employee boxes products to be sold in 33 countries

Takeout Browsing at Ahava's gift shop, below, in its factory near the Dead Sea



The Mud Biz

For more photos of Ahava's Dead Sea operation, go to time.com/ahava



kibbutzim near the shore, wanted more, especially after seeing American tourists take products home in their suitcases. They wanted to make a mark in the U.S., a must-win market for any luxury-cosmetics company. After several years of modest success, Ahava broke through in 2000. Its secret? The company found that thriving in the glamorous world of high-end beauty often depends on the not-so-glamorous business of marketing and distribution.

Dead Sea Laboratories first tried entering the U.S. market in 1992, after the company persuaded buyers at Bloomingdale's and Saks Fifth Avenue to carry its products under the new brand name Ahava, which means love in Hebrew.

But it would take more marketing—and more money—to turn Ahava into a global brand. It got both in 2000, when an investment company called B. Gaon Holdings—owned by Israeli mogul Benjamin Gaon—noticed its potential and invested more than \$10 million. "It needed someone from the investment world to give them a push," says Michael Etedgi, the Israeli-born CEO of Ahava North America. Gaon lobbied

Ahava's U.S. distributor to get its products into more department stores and persuaded the company to try new product lines, including one for men, and to spend millions on magazine ads. "Big brands start in the U.S.," says Etedgi. Ahava products are now sold in 33 countries, generating nearly \$150 million a year in sales, and the company has three flagship stores in the U.K., Germany and Singapore.

Of course, marketing alone isn't enough to compete against L'Oréal and Estée Lauder. Ahava had to stand out. So Gilad and her partners try to re-create the purifying experience of bathing in the Dead Sea. Unlike the smooth, delicate creams of competitors, Ahava's products—such as the creamy, pale brown "energizing body mud masks" (\$18) and coarse, white "uplifting butter salts" (\$22)—look and feel like the mud and salt they're made from. "Each bottle is like a mini-Dead Sea experience,"

Gilad says. "Other companies may have the money and the power, but we have the sea." Ahava is the only cosmetics company with the right to mine the Dead Sea for its mud and salts. (Other companies can buy them from Ahava.)

There is a drawback, however, to stressing its Israeli provenance: "Any product that says MADE IN ISRAEL will have some impact on selling in countries like Saudi Arabia and Iran," Etedgi says. That means Ahava may be missing out on the torrid growth of the luxury market in some parts of the Middle East.

In the U.S., the luxury-skin-care market is approaching saturation. The number of skin-care brands sold in department stores has more than doubled over the past 10 years. "Everyone is in the game," says Karen Grant, a senior beauty analyst for the NPJ Group. Ahava hopes that luxury consumers looking for natural products will respond to the company's mineral-based product line. "It gives them an edge," Grant says.

Ahava is still a small player in the cosmetics industry, but it has big plans. Disney's investment arm agreed to acquire a 16.9% stake in the company from Gaon; *Sex and the City*'s Kristin Davis signed up as its first celebrity endorsement last fall; and next year in New York City, Ahava plans to build a demonstration pool of concentrated saltwater, in which consumers can slather on mud and float. It's the next best thing to taking a dip in the Dead Sea yourself. ■



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Model of wealth
Sunseeker's
Braithwaite with
the Portofino 53



LIFE AT THE TOP

Full Speed Ahead. What recession? Why business has never been better for the world's superyacht industry

BY THOMAS K. GROSE/LONDON

BRITISH YACHTMAKER SUNSEEKER launched its biggest boat yet at last year's London Boat Show: an \$18 million, 121-ft. (37 m) superyacht. So far, it has built three of them; two are under construction at its boatyard in Poole, England; and eight more are on order. That kind of demand surprised Robert Braithwaite, managing director. "If we had sold five or six by now, I would be very happy." At this year's show, the company unveiled two more big boats, a \$4.8 million 89-footer (27 m) and a \$14 million 112-footer (34 m)—smaller than last year's model but still within the important superyacht category.

Worldwide credit crunch? Faltering stock markets? Oil at \$110 a barrel? Mere trivialities for the \$25 billion yacht industry. Annual sales over the past five years have grown 10% to 15% and show no signs of tanking, thanks to increasing numbers of wealthy buyers from developing countries. In the fiscal year ending September 2007, Sunseeker's sales jumped 18.5%, to \$473 million. And other yachtmakers are enjoying similar returns. Italy's Ferretti, for example, saw its production value jump 21% last year, to \$1.37 billion.

The rising-sales tide isn't lifting all boats. Sales of smaller yachts are some

what adrift. For instance, demand for Sunseeker's \$550,000, 44-ft. (13 m) Superhawk 43 is languishing. "The top end is pulling the industry along," says Ed Slack, editor of *International Boat Industry*.

Sunseeker built 318 boats last year, but Braithwaite doesn't expect to better that pace five years from now. Why bother? He can keep revenues climbing by building bigger instead. Rapid growth in Asia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe, particularly Russia, is taking up the slack in the U.S. and Western Europe, where sales are softer. "An explosion in the client base" of high-net-worth individuals is generating sales, says Vincenzo Cannatelli, Ferretti's CEO. These aren't people who flinch at high fuel costs. "Many of our customers are making money from the

Handmade A
121-ft. (37 m)
Sunseeker
yacht under
construction in
Poole, England



price of oil," Cannatelli says, chuckling.


There are about 85,000 people worldwide with liquid assets of \$25 million or more, and their numbers are increasing. Sunseeker's dealers in Dubai "will take anything we can give them," Braithwaite says. Four years ago, Ferretti's Russian market was practically nonexistent. Last year sales there hit \$147 million. Rich Russians are following the lead of homegrown multimillionaire Roman Abramovich. He owns three yachts, including the 377-ft. (115 m) *Pelorus*, and reportedly has a fourth under construction in Germany—the aptly named *Eclipse*, which at 509 ft. (155 m) would be the world's biggest privately owned ship.

There are more superrich than there are superyachts to go around. Damn. "Production capabilities are running behind demand," says Joel Plasco, CEO of Collins Stewart, the private banking group that sponsors the London Boat Show. But scarcity doesn't hurt this industry. The small number of yachts it builds makes it less vulnerable to economic upheaval: manufacturers need only rely on a handful of customers. "It's more difficult for luxury-goods makers who have to sell hundreds of thousands of items," Cannatelli says.

Boatbuilding is highly labor-intensive, yet the industry's biggest players remain based in Western Europe and the U.S., where workers are well paid. Braithwaite compares it to luxury automobiles. "If you built Rolls-Royces in China, you'd never get another sale. The product has to be fantastic." Yachts are still mostly handcrafted, although manufacturers now rely more on new technologies to improve quality and speed production. Sunseeker has a tech center outside Poole where robots help churn out components, ranging from dashboards to furniture.

Customization rules in yacht-building. Onboard gyms and saunas are common, and some of the bigger yachts even have swimming pools. There are also megayacht toys such as small helicopters, mini-submarines, diving bells, and tenders that can accommodate sailboats and speedboats. Annual running costs—including maintenance, crews and berthing fees—tend to be 10% to 20% of the boat's price.

To meet the enriched demand, Sunseeker is spending nearly \$30 million this year expanding its boatyards in Poole and nearby Portland. Ferretti spent some \$74 million last year upgrading its operations to handle increased production, while Azimut-Benetti, another Italian manufacturer, is spending \$323 million over the next two years on its facilities. So go ahead, pick your metaphor—clear sailing, running with the tide, full speed ahead—the yachtmakers have it going for them. ■



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Arts

A photograph of Tyler Perry sitting in a large, ornate, reddish-brown leather chair. He is wearing a white button-down shirt and dark blue jeans. He is leaning back with his hands clasped over his knees, looking off to the side with a thoughtful expression. The background is a dark wood panel wall. To the left, there is a small table with a white flower arrangement. The overall lighting is warm and dramatic.

SHOW BUSINESS

TELEVISION

BOOKS

DOWNTIME

SHOW BUSINESS

The Modest Mogul.

As studios sneered, Tyler Perry built a media empire

BY RICHARD CORLISS

AFTER THE CURTAIN CALLS FOR HIS 2004 theater piece, *Meet the Browns*—one of the strange comedy-musical-melodramas that have made Tyler Perry a hero to the older black Christian community—the author-director came out onstage to talk to his devoted audience. He confided that he'd been

asked to produce a TV comedy series but turned it down because it couldn't be religious. "Did you know you can't say 'Jesus' in a sitcom?" he said, to murmurs of disapproval from the faithful. "They told me that, and I was like, You gotta be kiddin' me. If you don't want my God here, you don't want me here either. God has been too good to me to go and try to sell out to get

some money. That's O.K. I will sit in a corner and be broke with the Lord before I will sit there and have them give me millions and sell my soul. It ain't gonna happen."

The battle lines were drawn. Since then, it's been God and Tyler Perry against the Hollywood establishment, which thinks that the films made from his plays are too square or weird to be mainstream and has not invested in them. (His movies are distributed by the indie Lionsgate.) Nor does he get much help from critics, whose reactions to his work range mostly from dismissive to baffled. His wild concoctions of brassy humor and fulsome sentiment seem to them out of fashion without being smartly retro. Perry must figure his critics have their minds made up in advance; he doesn't offer the press early screenings of his movies, including his latest, the film version of *Meet the Browns*, which opens March 21.

Yet Perry, 38, might just be winning the war. His first play to be turned into a movie, the 2005 *Diary of a Mad Black Woman*, was made for a paltry \$5.5 million yet earned \$22 million in its opening weekend on the way to a \$50 million gross. A year later, *Madea's Family Reunion*—in which Perry reprises his signature drag character, Mabel (Madea) Simmonds—took in \$30 million in its first three days and eventually grossed \$63 million. Last fall's *Why Did I Get Married?*, an ensemble drama about a couple's retreat, made \$55 million. And next year he will appear in his first film by someone else: J.J. Abrams' *Star Trek* prequel, as the head of the Starfleet Academy.

The films are just one arm of a Tyler Perry empire that includes sold-out road shows and popular DVDs of the plays, the TBS sitcom *House of Payne* (Allen Payne stars, but Perry wrote the scripts, which do invoke the Almighty), the best-selling book *Don't Make a Black Woman Take Off Her Earrings: Madea's Uninhibited Commentaries on Love and Life*, and on the Internet, *The Tyler Perry Show*. All of which make him the most successful "unknown" conglomerate in show business. If official culture takes little notice of Perry, that's O.K. with him. He can laugh all the way to the altar and the bank.

There's a reason Perry connects with his audience and exasperates almost everyone else. His plays and movies reside in that once essential, now demeaned genre of domestic melodrama in which family life is a bilious combustion of repressed emotions and grudges that explode into confrontation and recrimination and in which most characters are revealed to be cheating, abused or somebody's unknown daughter. That format, which fed decades of Bette Davis and Joan Crawford weepies, still raises its head occasionally—in the 1980 series *Big Love* or Broadway's *August:*



Meet the stars Angela Bassett, from left, Mariana Tolbert, Lance Gross and Rick Fox star in Perry's newest film, *Meet the Browns*

Osage County. And it's at the soapy, singing center of most Bollywood films. But it couldn't be less attuned to an American movie culture that wants to appeal to young males. They're looking for horror-film screams, not a wounded heart's cries for revenge and release.

That Perry's stuff deals with abrasions between working-class and middle-class blacks, between the restless young careerists and their sarcastic seniors, would seem to reduce his potential viewership even further. Devout African Americans over 30 are a hard demographic to shoot for. In 2005, Perry said, a Hollywood Pooh-Bah told him that "black folk who go to church don't go to movies." Yet from that group he's carved out a strong niche fan base, without much racial crossover. The audience for his first release was 4% white; that percentage is growing slowly but steadily with each film.

There could be one more explanation for the limited if ardent appeal of Perry's films: they're not very good. He casts some prime scene stealers—Cicely Tyson, Janet Jackson, Angela Bassett, Louis Gossett Jr., Jennifer Lewis, Maya Angelou—but rarely

draws their best work from them. Most of the actors could wear tags describing their characters: work-obsessed wife, philandering husband, saucy slut, overweight sweetie, bombastic uncle... and Madea (a conflation of *Mother Dear*), the wise, wise-cracking granny from Heck.

The movies come off like neutered versions of his strutting, crazily intense stage shows (available on the seven-disc DVD set *Tyler Perry: The Plays*). These are the source material for almost all his films. Onstage, you can see the author and his cast sweating to please a live audience, which hoots its disapproval of the naughty characters and its delight at all that vigor. Also, the shows are musicals, and it's during the singing that they really soar—*Dreamgirls* meets the Ebenezer Baptist Church choir, and the congregation's spirits raise the roof.

Tyler the Beguiler

PERRY'S DISMAL EARLY LIFE COULD BE THE source for a play of its own—and, of course, it has been. Born and raised in New Orleans, Perry "suffered from endless abuse growing up," according to his website bio. (He and his stern father have since reconciled; after some shows, he brings his parents onstage.) As a young adult, Perry was homeless for a time. Finding faith in God gave him faith in his creative powers. Taking advice he heard Oprah Winfrey give about putting your grievances down on paper, he wrote exorcising letters to himself and turned them into his first play, *I Know I've Been Changed*. He settled in Atlanta, which is still his base of operations. Soon he was a one-man off-Broadway, penning and often starring in nine original plays in nine years: *I Can Do Bad All by Myself* (2000), *Diary of a Mad Black Woman* (2001), *Madea's Family Reunion* (2002), *Madea's Class*

In 2005, Perry said, a Hollywood Pooh-Bah told him that 'black folk who go to church don't go to movies.'

Reunion (2003), *Meet the Browns* (2004), *Why Did I Get Married?* (2004), *Madea Goes to Jail* (2005), *What's Done in the Dark* (2006) and this year's *The Marriage Counselor*.

Reinventing what was known in pre-integration years as the "chitlin circuit"—black theater and vaudeville—Perry crossed the South and the largely black cities of the Midwest with his rep company of actor-singers. Making a go of such a project would be revolutionary, or counter-revolutionary, enough. But it's the tone of his plays that's startling: a violent blend of the earthy and the Evangelical.

Actually, *blend* is the wrong word. Perry's shows are contradictorily and simultaneously rude, forgiving, uplifting, demeaning. Comedy will get churning wildly, then stop in its tracks for a confession of spousal or child abuse. Laugh-cry, empathize-criticize: the mood changes so rapidly in these anachronistic exhibitions that they can seem defiantly postmodern.

For shows that attract a church crowd, Perry's are on the gamy side. Most of the women wear low-cut, skintight frocks. The young men tend to be extravagantly muscular; they frequently take their shirts off, to the oohs of the audience.

Usually, the supporting players carry the melodrama, and Perry's Madea shoulders the comedy. Black actors playing fat women is not exactly an innovation, as Martin Lawrence and Eddie Murphy can attest. But the 6-ft. 5-in. (1.96 m) Perry, who

You could ask if Perry is mocking the folks he hopes to uplift. But his form of comic melodrama depends on emotional extremes

in civvies has the smooth good looks of a Will Smith, cuts an arresting figure. Out-fitted in a purple print dress, giant glasses and sandbag bosom, carrying a purse with three handguns and punctuating every comment with the wave of a cigarette, the star stomps around the stage shouting out orders and ridiculing the supporting characters for being too short, too fat or insufficiently black. In these "recorded live" stage performances, he also evidently enjoys breaking the other actors' rhythm. You're encouraged to believe that this is a free-form stage dress rehearsal and that Perry takes the director's prerogative to step out of character and boss his cast around.

Madea may be God-fearing, but she has the mouth of a black Don Rickles. Fingering her daughter's filmy nightgown in *Madea's Family Reunion*, she says, "That's them twins Polly and Esther; that ain't no silk." Her remorseful granddaughter "ain't apologizing, she's apolo-lyin'." And if the insults don't hit the mark, she can always use the pistols in her purse. "I got more weapons in here

than the U.S. dropped on the Taliban," she shouts. "You don't wanna mess with me."

Ms. Mabel is more than the comic relief in these plays. She's the moral arbiter, the fearless truth teller, the preacher of racial pride. In *Diary*, her well-bred daughter is about to confront the hussy who stole her man. Madea butts in, "No, you're gonna deal with her like a white woman. I'm gonna deal with her like a black woman."

Does Perry's flaunting of African-American stereotypes amount to black face? There's no question that among the weeping queens, strutting kings and ego-deflating jokers in his pack, he does play the race card. But he's dealing it to fellow blacks, and if enough of them didn't love it, he couldn't have afforded the lavish new house he built in suburban Atlanta. You could also ask if Perry is mocking the folks he hopes to uplift. But his form of comic melodrama depends on creating emotional extremes, acute cartoons of recognizable behavior, people who hurt and get hurt. Public humiliation is the penance his stage characters must endure before they are absolved in a final embrace and bring the curtain down with a full-throated gospel song.

It would be nice if some of the down-home fervor and neck-snapping incongruities of his stage shows could be duplicated in movies. They might not cross over to the wider audience, but that shouldn't concern Perry. His core crowd loves him. And, he surely believes, so does Jesus. ■

The Multimedia Reach of Tyler Perry. All writing, all directing, all over. Whatever he touches turns to gold

TELEVISION

House of Payne, Perry's comedy series about too many family members living together, premiered in June 2007 on TBS. Its debut episode earned the highest-ever sitcom rating on basic cable.

MOVIES

He has directed four of the five motion pictures made from his plays and starred in four (three times as Madea, right). *Diary of a Mad Black Woman* cost \$5.5 million and made \$50 million in the U.S.



THEATER

The Marriage Counselor, the 10th musical he has written and directed, will be touring in April. From 2000 to this year, he wrote nine plays in nine years.



BOOKS

His volume of Madea wisdom, *Don't Make a Black Woman Take Off Her Earrings*, came out in 2006. Debuting at No. 1, it spent 12 weeks on the New York Times best-seller list.



TELEVISION

Founding Fighters. HBO's *John Adams* looks anew at the start of America—and of the arguments it's still having

BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

AMERICA'S FIRST PRESIDENT, GEORGE Washington, is on Mount Rushmore. So is the third, Thomas Jefferson. But there is only the merest crevice between them where the second, John Adams, might have been. Nor has Adams ever been on the face of a regular piece of U.S. currency. *William McKinley* got the 5500 bill, for God's sake!

The misfortune of John Adams the man, however, is the good fortune of HBO's *John Adams* the miniseries. Because viewers have little preconception of the man, the miniseries is free to do what history should, which is not just reproduce the past but reflect on the present. Add a little diversity and subtract a few powdered wigs, *John Adams* says, and we're having essentially the same arguments we had more than 200 years ago.

Adams (Paul Giamatti) can't catch many breaks. He wasn't tall and commanding like Washington, wildly gifted like Ben Franklin or silver-tongued like Jefferson—and, he notes, he doesn't have an inheritance, so he must work for a living as an attorney. This colors his personality: Giamatti plays him as a trudging bulldog, noble but vain, intellectual but provincial, idealistic but cautious. And it colors his politics, giving him a darker view of life than those of his colleagues with cleaner fingernails.

The most thought-provoking differences are between Adams and Jefferson (Stephen Dillane). Jefferson is a classic Enlightenment optimist, who believes in philosophy and science and the improvability of mankind. Adams believes that you can change people's condition—make them freer, more prosperous, more fairly represented—but you can't better their souls.

Their differences spill over into politics after the Revolution. Jefferson is leery of creating a strong Constitution that will effectively force the choices

and values of his generation on Americans to come. Adams favors it—for exactly that reason. To him, it's human nature to revert to mob rule and injustice; if his generation is lucky enough to get the rules right for once, they should damn well be cemented so that later generations can't screw them up. "You have a disconcerting lack of faith in your fellow man," Jefferson chides. "And you," Adams retorts, "display a disturbing excess of faith in your fellow man."

It's an eternal, multifaceted, unresolved argument. Put one way, it's the debate

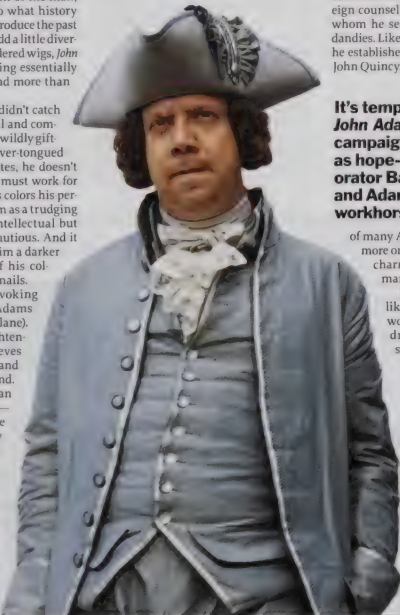
between hope and pragmatism. Put another, it's the argument between liberalism and conservatism. In Episode 4, the two men watch a demonstration in France of a manned hot air balloon. It's a small, perfect illustration of the ferment and unease of the Enlightenment. Jefferson is rapturous about the flight and all it symbolizes about human progress; man's bond to Earth is literally being severed for the first time. Adams is convinced the thing won't get off the ground. When the balloon takes off, Jefferson gloats, "Mankind floats upon a limitless plain of air." Adams deadpans, "Hot air."

Hot air! Just pretty words! It's tempting to map *John Adams* on today's political campaign, with Jefferson as hope-mongering orator Barack Obama and Adams as pragmatic workhorse Hillary Clinton. But the analogy is not perfect. The complex Adams parallels a range of his successors. Like the current President Bush, he's leery of foreign counsel, especially from the French, whom he sees as corrupt, face-painting dandies. Like the previous President Bush, he established a dynasty, through his son John Quincy. And he carries in him pieces

It's tempting to map *John Adams* on today's campaign, with Jefferson as hope-mongering orator Barack Obama and Adams as pragmatic workhorse Hillary Clinton

of many Americans who've had to rely more on hard work than on gifts and charm: a little Nixon, a little Truman, a little Bob Dole.

You'd think that Hollywood, like the chiselers of mountains, would side with the charismatic dreamers. But *John Adams* shows that Adams' unflashy tenacity—"Thanks be to God, He gave me stubbornness"—is an asset and his skepticism a form of idealism. To put it in today's terms, Adams is not the Founding Father you'd want to have a beer with. That might be Jefferson or witty, bawdy Franklin. But Adams beat Jefferson in the first contested U.S. election, in 1796, before losing to him in 1800. Who was right? Who ultimately won? Unlike the reply on Mount Rushmore, that answer has not been set in stone. ■



Not a show horse Giamatti's Adams is a diligent, flawed bulldog of a leader

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Public enemy Sheikh's brother called him "the kindest, most gentle person you could meet"

BOOKS

The Jihadi Next Door. What turns a law-abiding young man into a terrorist? A forensic psychiatrist offers answers

BY ARYN BAKER



IMMED OMAR SAEED SHEIKH was the kind of guy you could have taken home to Mom. Smart and friendly, he once jumped in front of a train in a London tube station to rescue a fallen commuter. But he also, in the name of the Islamist cause, gleefully threatened a hostage with decapitation in 1994. That hostage survived, but Danny Pearl, the *Wall Street Journal* Pakistan correspondent whom Sheikh is charged with kidnapping in January 2002, did not. The video of Pearl's beheading can still be found on the Internet (though the identity of the actual knife wielder remains unknown). How does someone like Sheikh—"the kindest, most gentle person you could meet," according to his brother—turn terrorist?

In *Leaderless Jihad*, the latest book by the author of 2004's *Understanding Terror Networks*, forensic psychiatrist Marc Sageman attempts to unravel the psychological profile of Islamist terrorists. Like his earlier book, *Leaderless Jihad* discredits conventional wisdom about terrorists by eschewing anecdotes and conjecture in favor of hard data and statistics. And statistically, the enemy is us.

"It is easy to view terrorists as alien crea-

tures who exist outside normal patterns of social interaction," he writes. But the sobering reality is that they don't. Sociopaths do not make capable terrorists—they seldom take orders and are rarely willing to sacrifice their lives for a larger goal. Many terrorists, on the other hand, share qualities with ordinary, law-abiding people: they can be cooperative, goal-oriented and intelligent, even if emotionally wrought. Often the start of their radicalization can be traced to a scrupulous moral outrage—not an irrational hatred or base prejudice.

Radical Muslims become bombers, Sageman argues, when the causes of their anger—the Israeli occupation of Palestinian land, the U.S. invasion of Iraq—come to be perceived as part of a wholesale war against Islam. This feeling of being under attack may be amplified by personal experience of discrimination and then validated by exchanges with like-minded friends, family members and Internet users before being converted into action by "al-Qaeda." Not, as Sageman puts it,

Many terrorists share qualities with ordinary people: they can be cooperative, goal-oriented and intelligent

"al-Qaeda Central" (made up of those who have sworn an oath of loyalty to Osama bin Laden) but al-Qaeda the informal network, mobilizing radicalized Islamists around the world without any contact with bin Laden at all.

Al-Qaeda Central, says Sageman, is on the wane, its leaders dead or on the run and increasingly isolated. It is the informal al-Qaeda—born after the attacks on Sept. 11 and exploding into raging adolescence after the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003—that is the real threat, waging the "leaderless jihad" of the book's title chapter.

Poverty and lack of opportunity are not necessarily the factors that drive young men to commit violence in al-Qaeda's name. (Sheikh was middle class and educated at a private school.) "They view themselves as warriors willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of building a better world," Sageman explains, "and this gives meaning to their lives." They are also younger and less visible, blending in with the Western societies they grew up in.

Because of security crackdowns, they are unable to reach out to al-Qaeda's original leadership, but they can access jihadi Internet forums for guidance and bomb-making expertise. The Madrid train bombings of 2004, which killed 191 commuters, are an example of an atrocity committed by such young men. The attacks were an "offering to al-Qaeda Central leaders for... admission into the ranks of global Islamist terrorism," Sageman writes.

The solution to Islamic terrorism, as the author sees it, is genuine peace in the Palestinian territories and an immediate U.S. withdrawal from Iraq, depriving jihadis of their ability to wage a moral war. "The presence of even one American soldier... will trump any goodwill policy the United States attempts to carry out in the Middle East," he writes. He also recommends an end to the offering of rewards, to the publication of most wanted lists and to the staging of press conferences that proclaim the capture of top terrorists, since jihadis regard all these as badges of honor. It would be better, Sageman says, to treat terrorists like common criminals.

None of Sageman's solutions are new or achievable soon, and not everyone agrees that they would work. But it isn't a forensic psychiatrist's job to come up with counterterrorist strategy. It is his job to offer a cogent alternative to the "Why do they hate us?" hand-wringing that dominates much writing about the terrorist mind-set, and Sageman has done that with great clarity. ■



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5 Things You Should Know About. Entertainment by way of real estate, diamonds, immigration and autism



TELEVISION

Autism: The Musical HBO; debuts March 25, 8 p.m. E.T.

This documentary follows five autistic kids who, under the loving guidance of an acting coach, write and star in their own musical. Their story is uplifting yet often heartbreaking, and especially poignant are the voices of the parents, who reveal the stress—particularly marital—of the day-to-day struggles of raising an autistic child. No false notes. **A**



The Riches FX; Tuesdays, 10 p.m. E.T.

A family tries to maintain the illusion of living the American Dream, relying on a deceptive real estate scheme to keep afloat. Are we watching *cnbc*? No, it's Season Two of this incisive dark comedy, in which the con-artist Rich/Malloy family's situation gets trickier as Wayne (Eddie Izzard) keeps a new secret from Dahlia (Minnie Driver). **A-**



MUSIC

Panic at the Disco *Pretty. Odd.*; available March 25

The exclamation point after *Panic* is gone, as are the cravats and goth makeup. The four-some may lose a few fans as a result, but the songs on the group's second album are smarter, with fully developed melodies that range from Supertrampy bounce to Pearl Jammish crunch. Where this band goes now is unclear, but the journey is a lot more interesting. **B**



MOVIES

Flawless Directed by Michael Radford; written by Edward Anderson; rated PG-13; opens March 28

In 1960s London, an aged janitor (Michael Caine) suggests to a frustrated female exec (Demi Moore) that they steal some of the inventory from the diamond firm they work for. Not the jolly sort of heist film (*Gambit*, *The Italian Job*) that Caine fronted in the '60s, this one plods a bit, but it makes fine use of the actor's sweet gravity and rueful charm. **B**



Under the Same Moon Directed by Patricia Riggen; rated PG-13; out now

Illegal immigrants are just so... wonderful. That's the message of this weepie about a Mexican boy (Adrian Alonso) trying to reunite with his mother (Kate del Castillo), who is working as a maid in Los Angeles. For all the film's shameless sentiment, young Alonso radiates an unforced winsomeness that could melt Lou Dobbs' heart, if he had one. **B-**

WANDERING THE WEB

Comic Stripped

IF YOU STILL DOUBT THE awesome power of the Internet, consider this: it has the power to make *Garfield* funny again. *Garfield Minus Garfield*, at garfieldminusgarfield.tumblr.com, is a website that republishes old *Garfield* strips doctored so that *Garfield* himself isn't there. All you see is a lonely and apparently demented Jon Arbuckle wandering an empty landscape of countertops and refrigerators, lasagna and coffee. "Who would have guessed," writes the site's author, who identifies himself as Dan Walsh, 32, of Dublin, Ireland, "that when you remove *Garfield* from the *Garfield* comic strips, the result is an even better comic about schizophrenia, bipolar disorder and the empty desperation of modern life?" Samuel Beckett, eat your heart out.





Joel

Stein

The Kitchen Stinks. Composting is part of my marital bargain, but I'm not saving the planet—I'm saving the hippies

MY WIFE'S PARENTS ARE HIPPIES. IN GENERAL, THIS HAS made my life a lot easier. Instead of questioning their daughter's future with a journalist, they were awed that I was able to pay for the 475-sq.-ft. (45 sq m) apartment we lived in for six years. And that I was all sophisticated with my use of deodorant.

But it does mean that my lovely wife Cassandra grew up with different habits—habits that are now my habits. I'm a hippie by marriage.

I care about the environment as much as anyone else. If the environment wasn't looking where it was going and was about to get hit by a car, I'd yell, "Hey, environment, watch out!" I get weepy when I see a poorly rendered CGI polar bear drown. But unlike me, Cassandra was taught to spend more time actually caring than remembering that she is supposed to. We flush the toilet only when absolutely necessary, for instance. Which, in my unenlightened opinion, would mean every time we use it, especially since her being a child of hippies means we have to take a lot of vitamins and eat asparagus.

Now that we have a house with a backyard, Cassandra has decided we need a compost heap. Apparently she has very warm memories of her childhood compost. What these are I find hard to imagine. Sledding down the compost pile? Building compost castles? Making compost angels? Playing Batman, Robin and the Case of the Maggot-Ridden Tofu Pup?

At first our compost system consisted of a Tupperware container that I put eggshells and banana peels in. I was supposed to put a lot of other stuff in there too, but there was also stuff I was absolutely not supposed to put in, so I simplified it down to the things she would notice if I threw them away in the regular garbage.

When the Tupperware container disappeared, I was greatly relieved. This was foolish. A week later, Cassandra decorated our kitchen with a large green compost bin—which, I may point out, is clearly made of plastic—and told me to throw all kinds of stuff in there. This stuff would then sit in our kitchen. Rotting. I was starting to understand that there are reasons besides shunning deodorant that hippies smell bad.

Then the UPS guy delivered a coil of bamboo fencing

so large I could barely lift it. This would demark the compost area in our yard. That way, we could enjoy rotting things both inside and outside our house. And denude a small part of Vietnamese jungle.

As far as I was concerned, we were replacing an environmentally superior system: I put food in the garbage disposal, it went out to the ocean, fish ate it, and I ate the fish and put the uneaten fish bits right back into the disposal—a perfect, waste-free circle of life. Cassandra didn't see it that way. She wanted the thrill of watching food decompose. I wondered if we could do something else for the planet instead: save trees by ordering fewer

fashion magazines, protect cows by massively reducing our purchases of boots and handbags, conserve energy by not watching *Gossip Girl*. But the compost isn't going anywhere.

I realize our planet has limited resources and Chinese people want cars and all this is making our planet warmer for reasons I'm pretty sure I understood when I left the Al Gore movie and have no idea about now and am not nearly interested in enough to watch that Al Gore movie again. But I'm convinced that the environmental movement is less about making sure we humans can continue to do

important things like fly and drive and spritz ourselves with cans of Evian and more of an excuse to advocate an anticonsumerist, antiglobalization, anti-good-smelling-kitchen agenda. People were living in communes, crocheting their own Rasta hats and conserving office electricity by not getting a job long before they knew it was preventing global warming. So don't pretend that some of this environmentalism isn't about pushing a lifestyle. Somewhere someone is arguing that carbon emissions are somehow reduced by jam bands.

I'm fine with Cassandra's new, cool Prius. Those curly fluorescent bulbs we have are great. And I do think we should replace our plants with cacti, only partly because they seem so much more badass than rosebushes. But I believe our messy oil age will be replaced by better technology, not by a planetary embrace of Luddism. Because really, what's easier—one smart dude figuring out how to run cars on sea monkeys, or convincing all of Asia to never try air-conditioning? Those people eat spicy food. ■



As a matter of fact, the water you drink does make a difference.

- Matt Damon

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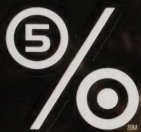


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